

THE DUBLIN REVIEW

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APRIL

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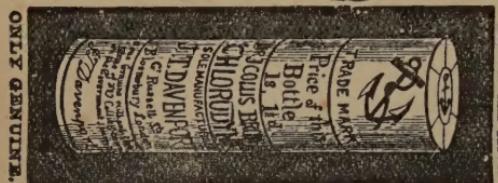
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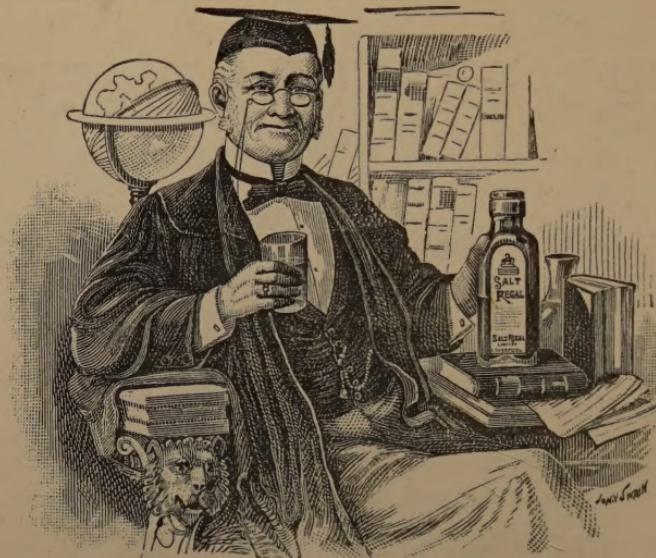
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THE

DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1893.

ART. I.—THE PAPAL JUBILEE.

I. EARLY ENGLISH PILGRIMAGES.

THE Papal Jubilee and Roman Pilgrimages of 1893 are events which are bound to stand out as a landmark in the church history of this century.

The two events are structurally one.

For the pilgrimages from various lands may be regarded as so many lines radiating from the circumference of the Church to the Jubilee celebrated at its centre. Taken with its historical setting, this double event—presenting as it does a remarkable inflow of the Church upon its centre—is possessed of a deep significance, which harks back into the past and forward into the future.

Roman Pilgrimages and Roman Jubilees are not of yesterday. They are notes which cannot be struck without awaking the historic harmonies of a thousand years, and carrying the mind back through the Middle Ages to the very first beginnings of English Christianity. They make part of the historic connection of England with Rome, and in so doing they fit in with the whole frame-work of our national traditions.

I.

There is the initial fact that the English race owed the first beginnings of its Christianity to Rome. Christianity existed

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in this land before St. Augustine, but it was not English. Christianity came also with St. Aidan from the North—(we should call it Rome's arm reaching England by the longer way round)—but it was second, not first. The late Professor Freeman, who takes rank amongst the greatest of modern English historians, calls St. Bede “the father of English history,” and St. Bede is to us a witness that the English Church in his day hailed a Roman Pope, St. Gregory, as “the Apostle of England.” The Rev. F. C. Warren, an Anglican clergyman, well known for his researches in liturgical studies, states very plainly this truth when he says in the Introduction to his edition of “*Leofric's Missal*” (p. xxiv):

Roman in origin, owing her existence to the foresight of one of the greatest of Popes, and fostered at first by Roman missionaries and bishops, the Church of England had been constantly and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her first Liturgical Books, as well as her vestments and church ornaments, came direct from Rome, being sent by Gregory to Augustine. Her Archbishops from the very first applied for and wore the Pall.

There is the fact that the first planting of the English Church was the work of a mission which went forth at the Papal word of command from that very Church on the Cœlian Hill, which with exquisite appropriateness has been passed on by Leo XIII. as a titular heritage to the English Cardinal.

There is the fact that the chiefest of English Sees—the very throne of the majestic English Primacy—was itself an offshoot from the Apostolic See of Rome, the “devoted daughter of the Most Holy Roman Church,” as the Cathedral body of Canterbury styled it in 1313, in their letter to Pope Clement V. In truth the English Church was born of Rome with a Papal Pallium for her swathing-band.

Resting upon such a basis of fact and origin, the bond between England and the Holy See could hardly fail to be strong, and close, and enduring. It is indestructibly part of the fibre and structure of English history. This mutual relationship involved a plentiful intercommunication and a muchness of going and coming between Rome and this country. Our earliest missionaries turned Romewards, to seek renewed strength and solace at the tomb of the Apostles, and returned with not only fresh courage, but laden with a new equipment

of Church apparatus and furniture, and of privileges for their churches and monasteries. Kings, nobles, and commoners journeyed thither on pilgrimage, "for their soul's health," and "to visit Blessed Peter." Archbishops and bishops went there to confer with the Sovereign Pontiff and transact the business relating to their sees.

II.

In fact, St. Augustine had hardly laid the first foundations of the Church in England when our records present an instance of this recurrent reflux to Rome. St. Augustine despatched Laurence to Rome to acquaint the Pope with the progress he had made, and to ask for further guidance, and back from Rome came St. Gregory's answers, and with them as St. Bede tells us :

*Fellow labourers and ministers of the word, of whom the principal were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Restitutus, and by them all things in general that were necessary for the service of the Church—viz., sacred vessels and vestments for the altars, also ornaments for the Churches and vestments for the priests and clerks, as likewise reliques of the holy apostles and martyrs, besides many books. He also sent letters wherein he signified that he had transmitted the Pall to him, and at the same time directed how he should constitute Bishops in Britain.**

A few years later, and one of these new helpers, Mellitus, who had become Bishop of London, in his turn takes the road to Rome :

About this time (A.D. 605) Mellitus, Bishop of London, went to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface about the necessary affairs of the English Church.†

At a momentous crisis in 665, when there was a question of no less importance than that of providing a Primate for the English Church, the English kings Egbert and Oswy and the English Bishops could think of no better and simpler way than to send Wighard, the priest of their choice, to Rome to there receive episcopal consecration at the hands of the Pope. They "sent him to Rome to be ordained bishop, to the end that he having received the degree of Archbishop might ordain Catholic prelates for the Churches of the English

* St. Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* I. c. xxix.

† *Ibid.* II. c. iv.

nation throughout all Britain" (St. Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* II. c. xxix.).

When Wighard died at Rome, Pope Vitalian took the provision of an English Primate into his own hands, and no doubt seems for a moment to have crossed his mind that he was acting *ultra vires* in doing so. Nor upon the side of the English kings and bishops does there appear to have been a moment's hesitation in receiving the person, albeit a foreigner, whom the Pope had selected. On Sunday, the 26th March, A.D. 668, Pope Vitalian himself nominated, appointed, and consecrated Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury. This appointment by the Apostolic See was a fact of which Theodore himself appears to have been careful to remind the English bishops in one of the earliest councils which he held upon English soil: "I, Theodore, unworthy bishop of the See of Canterbury, appointed by the Apostolic See."*

III.

It is worthy of note that the ecclesiastic whose name stands out most luminously in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon period for sanctity, zeal, learning, and whose labours did more than most to mould the spirit and structure of the Anglo-Saxon Church is the one whom history has most identified with the love and practice of the Roman Pilgrimage.

Bennet Biscop was an indefatigable Roman Pilgrim. He was born in A.D. 628. He must have lived and spoken with some of the earliest of English Christians, for his grandfather—very possibly his father—was still living when St. Augustine first landed on our shores. He held the rank of *Thegn* under King Egfrith of Northumbria. He renounced the world at the age of twenty-five. In the same year, A.D. 653, he characteristically began his new life by a pilgrimage to Rome. Imbued with the spirit and discipline of the Roman Church, he returned to work for Christ in his native land. But after twelve years' missionary toil in 665 he started once more for the Eternal City. During this, his second pilgrimage, he visited the famous monastery on the island of Lerins, and became a monk. He came back from Rome with Archbishop

* At Council of Hertford, A.D. 673.

Theodore in A.D. 669, and brought with him as usual a rich supply of books and relics. For two years he lived and laboured with the monks of Canterbury. In 671 he made his third pilgrimage to Rome. He returned in the following year, but this time to his native Northumbria. Here his great desire was to found a monastery, and King Egfrith generously gave him a strip of land for the purpose at the place since called Monk-Wearmouth. Bennet built the monastery, and dedicated it—as we might expect he would—to St. Peter. Apparently, with Bennet, there was but one way of properly beginning or completing anything—a pilgrimage to Rome. As soon as he had finished the building of his monastery, taking with him Ceolfrid, his disciple and successor, he turned his steps for the fourth time to Rome. His object was to obtain the Papal sanction and privileges of exemption for his new foundation. He returned, successful as ever, and brought back not only his Bull of Exemption, but “the venerable John, Archchanter of the Church of the holy Apostle St. Peter, and Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin.” St. Bede lived in this very monastery while Bennet was its Abbot. Let him tell the tale :

For the said Benedict, having built a monastery in Britain in honour of the Most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, at the mouth of the river Wear, went to Rome with Ceolfrid, his companion and fellow labourer, who was after him Abbot of the same monastery. He had been several times before at Rome, and was now honourably received by Pope Agatho of blessed memory, from whom he also obtained the confirmation of the immunities of this monastery, being a Bull of Privilege, signed by Apostolical authority, pursuant to what he knew to be the will and grant of King Egfrid, by whose consent and gift of land he had built that monastery.

He then received the aforesaid Abbot John to be conducted into Britain, that he might teach in his monastery the method of singing throughout the year as it was practised at St. Peter's at Rome. The Abbot John did as he was commanded by the Pope, teaching the singers of the said monastery the order and manner of singing aloud and reading aloud, and committing to writing all that was requisite throughout the whole course of the year for the celebration of festivals, all of which are still observed in that monastery, and have been copied by many others elsewhere. The said John not only taught the brothers of that monastery, but such as had skill in singing resorted to him from almost all monasteries of the same province to hear him, and many invited him to teach in other places.

Besides singing and reading, he had also been directed by the Pope to

inform himself of the faith of the English Church, and to give an account thereof on his return to Rome (Hist. Ecc. iv. 18).

Thus the practical effect of Bennet's pilgrimaging was that the great monastery of St. Peter at Wearmouth, with its sister monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, and the whole concert of neighbouring monasteries of Northumbria, were tuned to the ritual of St. Peter's at Rome. Nor did Bennet's movement confine itself to the English choirs. His friend, the Archchanter John, of St. Peter's, fulfilled what were virtually the functions of a Papal Visitor or Legate. He took a leading part in the Council of Hatfield in A.D. 680, which declared the faith of the English Church in the dignity of the Blessed Virgin "as Mother of God." And he was charged by the Council to carry to the sovereign Pontiff that assurance on this and other points which the Pope had required as to orthodoxy of the English Church.*

The mission of John, which had for its object to secure the conformity of the English Church psalmody to the Roman model—the Romanising or Ultramontanising of English worship, as it would be called in our days—did not end with his life or that of Bennet, just as it did not begin with them. It was a fixed element of the policy of the English Church, and nearly a hundred years later, in 747, we find it enforced by a canon of the Council of Clovesho.

In the 13th decree it is defined that in one and the same way the most holy festivals of Our Lord's coming in the Flesh in all things which rightly pertain to them, to wit, in the office of Baptism, in the celebration of Masses, in the method of chanting, shall be celebrated according to the model, namely, that which we have in writing from the Roman Church. And thus throughout the course of the whole year the festivals of the saints shall be kept on one and the same day, with the psalmody and chant appointed to them, according to the Martyrology of the same Roman Church.†

* Wherefore Pope Agatho, being desirous to be informed concerning the state of the Church in Britain, as well as in other provinces, and to what extent it was clear from the contagion of heretics, gave this affair in charge to the most Reverend Abbot John, then appointed to go to Britain. The Synod we have spoken of having been called for this purpose in Britain, the Catholic faith was found untainted in them all, and a copy of the same given to him to carry to Rome. . . . Though he died by the way, yet the testimony of the faith of the English nation was carried to Rome, and most agreeably received by the Apostolic Pope, and all those who heard and read it (Bede iv. 18.)

† Acts of Council of Clovesho. Haddon and Stubbs Ecclesiastical Councils, vol. iii., 367.

Bennet, in the construction of his monastery, rising above the ideals of his time and place, discarded the old system of wooden structure, and bringing stonemasons and artificers in glass from France, introduced a new era of art and architecture into England. He beheld his monastery completed, enriched with Roman books and relics, and chartered by a Papal Bull of Privilege, and heard it and the surrounding monasteries resounding with the chants of St. Peter's. Then once again the passion for pilgrimage was strong upon him. He must do for his second monastery, St. Paul's of Jarrow, what he had done for his first-born, St. Peter's of Monkwearmouth. Leaving Easterwin to preside over the one, and Ceolfrid to take charge of the other, Bennet took what must now have been to him the familiar road to Rome. As he journeyed along he could reflect with consolation how his two great monasteries, centres of religion, learning, and missionary zeal and civilisation, were singing the song of Rome in his native land. His was the mind of the man who felt that his life task was done, and that it only remained for him to close it fittingly by kneeling once more in thanksgiving at the tomb of the Fisherman. He knew that it must be his last pilgrimage, and he lingered long and lovingly at the shrines of the Eternal City. Then gathering together his usual freight of books and relics for his younger monastery, he hurried back to Northumbria, and a few years later was laid to rest in his church at Monkwearmouth which he had founded "in honour of St. Peter, the Blessed Prince of the Apostles."

Dr. Stubbs, the Anglican Bishop of Oxford, says no more than the truth when he describes Bennet as a man "of great sanctity, energy, and foresight," and one who, "as a promoter of learning and cultivation, stands far higher than Wilfrid," and adds :

The debt which England owes to Benedict Biscop is a very great one, and has scarcely ever been fairly recognised, for it may be said that the civilisation and learning of the eighth century rested on the monasteries which he founded, which produced Bede, and through him the school of York, Alcuin, and the Carolingian School, on which the culture of the Middle Ages was based.*

* Article "Benedict Biscop," by Dr. W. Stubbs, in Smith & Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography."

Even in these days of rapid and facile communications, and when the journey to Italy is a question of a few days, not many of us—excluding perhaps bishops who make the periodical visits *ad limina*—can say that we have been five times in pilgrimage to Rome. It is not easy for us, in this century of calmness and comfort, to estimate aright the fulness and strength of Catholic and Rome-loving fervour in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon Saint which prompted the making of the pilgrimage five times over—covering by sea and land some ten thousand miles!—and that when the enterprise meant a laborious and perilous journey of months' duration, often through hostile territories and through Alpine passes, where more than once pilgrims were devoured by wolves, where in later times an Archbishop-elect of Canterbury was frozen to death and an Archbishop of York was cruelly beaten and despoiled by robbers.*

The communion of saints blends together the present and the past in the fellowship of faith. When next the standard of Roman Pilgrimage is raised aloft in England, and when English Catholics rally beneath it to bear to the throne of Christ's Vicar the message of our faith and loyalty, it will not be too much to hope that amongst those heavenly patrons whom we invite from the Church Triumphant to look down upon our journey and accompany us by their prayers, a chief and leading place will be given to St. Bennet Biscop—the Saint of the Five Roman Pilgrimages—the founder of monasteries, and of schools of learning, the patron of church music, the promoter of Christian art and architecture, the venerated master of England's greatest historian, and one who, while labouring to build up the Church and the civilisation of his time, fulfilled, in the highest conception of the term, the function of a living and loving bond between Rome and England.

IV.

Besides the manifold pilgrimages of St. Bennet Biscop, with their formative and infusive influence upon the Church life of his period, there is another class of pilgrimages which stands

* Alsine of Canterbury (958) and Aldred of York (1060).

out in conspicuous relief from the annals of our Anglo-Saxon history.

They are the pilgrimages of the Kings.

The piety and Romanism of the Anglo-Saxon Church always can be gauged by the fact that no less than eight of its kings laid down their crowns to embrace the monastic life, and of these no less than four, after abdicating, went and ended their days at Rome. The eight kings were Ceolwulf of Northumbria, Sigeberht of East Anglia, Ceadwalla of Wessex, Sebbi of the East Saxons, Ethelred of Mercia, Cœnred of Mercia, Offa of East Anglia, and Ina of Wessex. Ceadwalla, Cœnred, Offa, and Ina went to Rome.

St. Bede thus describes the pilgrimage of Ceadwalla, or Peter, King of Wessex, who went to Rome to be baptised and to die there.

In the third year of the reign of Alfrid, Ceadwalla, King of the West Saxons, having most honourably governed his nation two years, quitted his crown for the sake of our Lord and His everlasting kingdom, went to Rome, being desirous to obtain the peculiar honour of being baptized in the Church of the Blessed Apostles. For he had learned that in baptism alone, the entrance into Heaven is opened to mankind, and he hoped at the same time, that laying down the flesh as soon as baptized, he should immediately pass to the eternal joys of Heaven: both of which things by the blessing of our Lord came to pass, according as he had conceived in his mind.

For coming to Rome, at the time when Sergius was Pope, he was baptized on the Holy Saturday, before Easter Day in the year of our Lord 689. And being still in white garments, he fell sick and departed this life on the 20th April and was associated with the Blessed in Heaven.

At his baptism, the aforesaid Pope had given him the name of Peter, to the end that he might be also united in name to the most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whose most holy body his pious love had brought him from the utmost bounds of the earth.

He was likewise buried in his Church, and by the Pope's command, an epitaph was written on his tomb wherein the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever, and the readers or hearers might be inflamed with religious desire by the example of what he had done (Hist. Ecc. v. 7).

Caedwalla's epitaph, mentioned by St. Bede, was preserved in the porch of the old Basilica of St. Peter at Rome,*

* Sovereignty, wealth, kindred and kingdom; triumphs and spoils, nobles, cities, camps and home—all that the worth of ancestry had brought to him, and all that he himself had won,—Caedwalla, mighty in arms, gave up for the love of God, that he as a royal pilgrim might visit Peter and Peter's see:

The following is the copy of it, as given in Gruter's *Inscriptiones Antiquae totius Orbis Romani*, No. mclxxiv. :

CVLMEN OPES SOBOLEM POLLENTIA REGNA TRIVMPHAS
 EXVBIAS PROCERES MAENIA CASTRA LARES
 QVAEQVE PATRVM VIRTVS ET QVAE CONGESSERAT IPSE
 CAEDOAL ARMIPOTENS LINQVIT AMORE DEI
 VT PETRVM SEDEMQUE PETRI REX CERNERET HOSPES
 CVIVS FONTE MERAS SVMERET ALMVS AQVAS
 SPLENDIFICVMQVE IVBAR RADIANTI CARPERET HAVSTV
 EX QVO VIVIFICVS FVLGOR VBIQVE FLVIT
 PERCIPiensQVE ALACER REDIVIVAE PRAEMIA VITAE
 BARBARICAM RABIEM NOMEN ET INDE SVVM
 CONVERSVS CONVERTIT OVANS PETRVMQVE VOCARI
 SERGIUS ANTISTES IVSSIT VT IPSE PATER
 FONTE RENASCENTIS QVEM XRI GRATIA PVRGANS
 PROTINVS ALBATVM VEXIT IN ARCE POLI
 MIRA FIDES REGIS CLEMENTIA MAXIMA XRI
 CVIVS CONSILIVM NVLLVS ADIRE POTEST
 SOSPES ENIM VENIENS SVPREMI EX ORBE BRITANNI
 PER VARIAS GENTES PER FRETA PERQVE VIAS
 VRBEM ROMLEVVM VIDIT TEMPLVMQVE VERENDVM
 ASPEXIT PETRI MYSTICA DONA GERENS
 CANDIDVS INTER OVES XRI SOCIABILIS IBIT
 CORPORE NAM TVMVLVM MENTE SVPERNA TENET

V.

Ceadwalla's example was followed by his successor, King Ina. As a military leader, as a civil ruler and legislator, as a munificent founder of monasteries, and as a patron of learning, Ina ranks amongst the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Bede tells how after thirty-seven years spent in building up the greatness of Wessex, Ina (A.D. 725) in his turn became a pilgrim to Rome.*

there cleansed to draw the pure waters from his spring, and to drink with radiant draught the illuminating splendour from the source whence the life-giving light is shed over all places. Eagerly receiving the rewards of immortal life, himself converted, he changed his barbarous life and name, and as he gloried to be called Peter, the Pontiff Sergius, himself as Godfather, so ordered it. Him, whom the grace of Christ purified at the regenerating font, it carried forthwith in his white robes pure in the citadel of Heaven. Great was the faith of the King, but greater the mercy of Christ, whose counsels no mind can reach. For coming safely from the farthest part of the British world, through many countries by sea and land, he beheld the Roman city, and gazed upon the Sacred Temple of Peter, and brought the mystical gifts. Spotless he will walk in company with the flock of Christ. This grave contains his body, and Heaven his soul.

* Matthew of Westminster (Ann. 727) states that King Ina founded the English School at Rome with the approbation of Pope Gregory. William of Malmesbury (Hist. Kings, 109) says that the school was founded by King Offa and repaired by Ethelwulf.

When Cædwalla went to Rome, Ina succeeded him on the throne, and having reigned thirty-seven years over that nation, he gave up the kingdom in like manner to younger persons, and went away to Rome to visit the Blessed Apostles, at the time when Gregory (II.) was Pope, being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage on earth in the neighbourhood of the holy place, that he might the more easily be received into the saints of heaven.

In the words which follow, we have a remarkable testimony from St. Bede as to the frequency and popularity which the Roman Pilgrimage had obtained amongst English men and women of the eighth century.

The same thing, about the same time, was done through the zeal of many of the English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women (v. 7).

The band of English pilgrims which left Victoria Station one morning last February, with its composition of peer and commoner, men and women, cleric and laymen, was in its way but a nineteenth-century reproduction of what St. Bede described as a characteristic of English zeal a thousand years ago.

Then we have the remarkable spectacle of two English kings going hand in hand as fellow-pilgrims to Rome, and with the still more remarkable sequel, that both renounce the world, and receiving the monastic habit, pass the remainder of their days in prayer and penance near the tomb of St. Peter.

Cœnred, King of Mercia, had governed the great Midland kingdom for five years—A.D. 704–709. Bede devotes a chapter (v. 19) to telling how the king visited the deathbed of one of his nobles, and urged him to confess his sins, and to repent of them while it was not yet too late. The subsequent despair of the dying man and the frightful vision of his future doom only brings out in stronger relief the earnest zeal of the pious king. He signed the charter for the foundation of the famous Abbey of Evesham.* In 709 he resigned his crown, and accompanied King Offa to Rome.

Offa is described as a most popular king of the East Saxons. He is held to have ruled over that nation from about A.D. 695. Preferring a heavenly to an earthly crown, he renounced family, friends and kingdom, and went with Cœnred to Rome, and with him was shorn as a monk by the hands of the Pope.

* Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 278.

St. Bede thus chronicles with some degree of admiration the pilgrimage and profession of the two kings :

In the fourth year of the reign of Osred, Cœnred, who had nobly governed the kingdom of the Mercians, did a much more noble act by quitting the throne of his ancestors, and going to Rome, where, being shorn when Constantine was Pope, and made a monk at the relics of the Apostles, he continued to his last hour in prayers, fastings, and alms-deeds. . . .

With him went the son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons above mentioned, whose name was Offa, a youth of most lovely age and beauty, and most earnestly desired by all his nation to be their king. He, with like devotion, quitted his wife, lands, kindred and country for Christ and for the Gospel, that he might “receive an hundredfold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting.” He also, when they came to the holy places at Rome, receiving the tonsure, and adopting a monastic life, attained the long-wished-for sight of the Blessed Apostles in heaven (Hist. Ecc. v. 19).

VI.

Later kings fully maintained the tradition of Royal pilgrimage, and of English devotion to the tomb of the Apostles.

Æthelwulf succeeded to the throne of Wessex in 836, and merited well of his country by his energetic defence of its independence against the Danes. In the year 853 he sent to Rome his son Alfred—“England’s darling”—known to posterity as Alfred the Great.

William of Malmesbury tells us how Pope Leo, having confirmed and anointed Alfred, sent him back “with the blessing of St. Peter the Apostle to England.”

Asser, a contemporary of Alfred, records the event in the following terms :

In the same year, King Aethelwulf sent his previously named son Alfred to Rome, honourably escorted with a large number of both nobles and commoners. At that time Pope Leo IV. presided over the Apostolic See, who anointed the aforesaid infant as king, and confirmed his authority by receiving him as his adopted son.*

The same chronicler tells us how,

two years later, King Aethelwulf went himself to Rome, taking with him his son Alfred, to visit the Pope, his godfather, for the second time.

* Asser’s Life of Alfred the Great.

In the same year the aforesaid venerable King Aethelwulf released a tenth part of all his realm from all royal service and tribute, and by a perpetual deed of gift consecrated it to God, One and Threefold, in the Cross of Christ for the redemption of his soul, and of his predecessors.

And in the same year he reached Rome, with great honour, taking with him the above-mentioned Aelfred his son, on a second visit there, because he loved him more than his other sons ; he tarried there a whole year.

The king's love of Rome left its impress upon the provisions of his will.

King Aethelwulf then lived two years after his return from Rome. . . . For the benefit of his soul then, respecting which from the early flower of his youth, he had been ever solicitous, he ordered that throughout his hereditary dominion, one poor man in ten, whether native or foreign, should always be provided with food, drink, and clothing by his successors, even to the final day of judgment, assuming that the country should continue to be inhabited by men and cattle, and should not become a desert.

He also ordered a large sum of money to be carried to Rome every year, amounting to 300 mancuses,* for the good of his soul, which was to be divided as follows : namely, 100 mancuses in honour of St. Peter, especially to buy oil to fill all the lamps of the Church of that Apostle on Easter Eve, and likewise at the cock-crow ; and 100 mancuses in honour of St. Paul, on the same condition of procuring oil for the Church of the Apostle St. Paul, to fill the lamps at Easter Eve, and likewise at cock-crow ; and also 100 mancuses for the Universal Apostolic Pontiff.†

When English pilgrims kneel at the tomb of the Apostles it should be to them a thought of pleasure and pride to remember that the lamps which a thousand years ago shone at this sacred shrine and turned night into day on Easter Eve and Easter dawn were lit by the piety of English kings.

VII.

The Danish Sovereigns of the country were hardly less Roman than the Anglo-Saxon. King Canute was a pilgrim, and in a special way the patron and protector of pilgrims. In 1031 he went to Rome, and from there he addressed a letter to his people, from which we extract the following passages :

I inform you that recently I have gone to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, for the welfare of my kingdom, and of the people who

* A mancus is said to equal roundly an Anglo-Saxon half-crown or 30 pence, or 55 grains Troy weight of gold.

† Asser's Life of Alfred : "Church Historians of England," Pre-Reformation Series, vol. ii. part ii. p. 448.

are subject to my rule. This pilgrimage I had vowed indeed to God, a long time ago, but owing to the affairs of my kingdom and causes of hindrance until now I had not been able to fulfil it. But now, I humbly give thanks to my God, the Almighty, that He has granted me to live to know and visit, and personally venerate and worship as I desired, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and every shrine within the city of Rome and without. And this I have done, chiefly because I have learned from the wise that the holy Apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, and is the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom. Wherefore I have deemed it in the highest degree useful to seek in a special way his patronage with God.*

Canute arrived at St. Peter's in time for the Easter solemnities, and was "honourably received," not only by Pope John, but by the Emperor Conrad, who was also in Rome for the occasion. The English king was zealously occupied, as he tells us, in prayer and pious visitation of the shrines, but not so much so that he could not find time to negotiate some very important business with the Pope and the Emperor in the interests of his kingdom.

He concluded a treaty for the protection and safe conduct of English pilgrims and merchants passing through the Imperial territories on their way to Rome.

Wherefore I have spoken with the Emperor himself and with the lord Pope and with the princes who were there, concerning the needs of all my people, both Danes and English, in order that there might be allowed to them a fairer law, and greater security in going to Rome, so that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the way, nor harassed by exorbitant customs. And the Emperor acceded to my demands, and King Rodulph, who chiefly has control of the barriers, and all the princes ratified it with their edicts, that my subjects, whether merchants or others travelling for sake of pilgrimage, should without being harassed by tolls and customs, have all security both in going to Rome and in thence returning.

He had also an affair to arrange with the Pope.

Again, I complained to the lord Pope, and said that it was very displeasing to me that my Archbishops were harassed so much for large sums of money, which were asked from them when they visited the Apostolic See, according to custom, for the reception of the Pallium, and it was decided that that should not happen any more. For all things which for the interest of my people I asked of the Lord Pope, and from

* *Epistola Canuti Regis*, Wilkins, vol. i. 298.

the Emperor, and from King Rodulph, and from the other princes through whose territories I passed on the way to Rome, were willingly granted, and what they granted they ratified with an oath in the presence of four Archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and noblemen, who were present.

The king's letter concludes as follows :

And now I enjoin upon all my bishops and the governors of my realm, by the allegiance which you owe to me and to God, that you cause to be paid, before my arrival in England, all dues which we owe according to our ancient law: namely, the ploughalms, the tithe of animals born in the current year, and the pence which you owe to Rome for St. Peter, both from towns and villages, and the tithe of fruits by the middle of August, and at the feast of St. Martin, the first fruits of seeds to the Church of the Parish in which each one resides, and which is called in English "Kirkscot." If these and other things are not paid when I come, a royal fine will be strictly levied without mercy on the defaulter.

The chronicler, Richard of Hoveden, who wrote some 150 years later, records the tradition of Canute's Pilgrimage as it still existed in the mind and records of the country :

In the year 1031, Canute, king of the English and Danes, and Norsemen from Denmark, went in great state to Rome, and carried to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, immense gifts in gold and silver and other precious things. And he petitioned Pope John that he should free from all tribute and tax the School of the English who dwell at Rome. And in going and in coming he gave away large sums in alms to the poor, and by paying a heavy indemnity he abolished many barriers on the journey at which toll was exacted from pilgrims. And before the tomb of the Apostles he took a vow to amend his life and conduct.

VIII.

This imperfect list of royal pilgrimages in the Anglo-Saxon times may be fittingly concluded with the memorable one, planned and purposed by King Edward the Confessor, but which happily was never carried out. We say happily, because England may well cry out "*Felix culpa*" when she gazes on Westminster Abbey, the fairest and best beloved of her shrines, and remembers that she primarily owes it to Edward's non-fulfilment and to the Papal commutation of a projected Roman pilgrimage.

When King Edward was in exile, he vowed that if he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, he would make the pilgrimage to Rome, and offer his thanksgivings to God at the tomb of St. Peter. Some years after his accession, he

prepared to fulfil his vow. But his bishops and counsellors besought him not to leave the realm, and expose it thereby to a renewal of the dangers from which it had just emerged. They offered to go to Rome in his stead. Edward consented that they should go and place his case before the Pope. The Pope wisely commuted the vow, commanding the king to give to the poor what he would have spent on the journey, and to do honour to St. Peter by building or restoring a monastery in his name. The Abbey of St. Peter of Westminster was founded as the fruit of the unfulfilled pilgrimage, and as the fulfilment of the Papal commutation.

But the tale can never be better told than it is in the Charter which Edward granted to the Abbey.*

“In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. I, Edward, son of King Aethelred, by God’s grace, King of the English, to all the Kings who will come after me, and to men of all ages and all degrees of dignity, greeting and the knowledge of the following :

I wish you to know that in the time of my ancestors, and of my father, many and grievous dangers of wars, enkindled both from within and from without, afflicted the English people, so that the hereditary succession of the kingdom was almost imperilled, and a long interval elapsed between my brother Edmund (who succeeded my father) and myself, during which the kingdom was invaded by Sweyn and Canute his son, kings of the Danes, and his sons, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute. By these my other brother, Alfred, was cruelly slain, and I alone, like Joas from the hands of Athalia, escaped their ferocity.

Finally, by God’s mercy, I, Edward, have returned to my native kingdom, and I have taken possession of it without any struggle of war, and like Solomon, the beloved of God, I have abounded in peace and prosperity, so that none of the kings my predecessors have been like to me in riches and glory. But the grace of God, and not the pride and disdain which is the wonted offspring of wealth, has overcome me, and truly I have begun to ponder in my mind by whose gift and help I have attained the eminence of the sovereign power,— how to God belongs the kingdom, and to whom He shall please to bestow it—how this world with its lusts passeth away, but he who gives himself wholly to God, reigns happily and is rich for ever.

Wherefore, I decided to go to the Tomb of the sublime Apostles Peter and Paul, and there return thanks for the benefits which I have received, and beseech God to confirm that peace for ever to me and to my successors.

I made my preparations, and calculated the necessary expenses of the journey, and the honourable gifts which I would carry to the holy Apostles.

* *Charta Regis Edwardi Confessoris.* Wilkins’ *Concilia*, i. 316.

But thereupon, a grave apprehension seized upon my nobles, mindful as they were of the disasters which had happened under other kings, lest so great a lord, and the loving ruler of the fatherland being away, the realm, which had only just been pacified, should be plunged into war. And they feared like holy Ezechias, that if by any accident of sickness, or any other misfortune, I should die upon the journey, the kingdom would be left without an heir, seeing that I had no son.

Wherefore, assembling together in council, they besought me that I should abandon this project, and promised that they themselves would satisfy God for my vow, both in the offering of Masses and prayers, and in the plentiful bestowal of alms.

But when I firmly refused, we finally came to an agreement, that we should send two legates from the part of each—the Bishops Aldred and Herman, and the Abbots Wilfric and Alfwin—who would make known to the Apostolic (Pope) my will and vow, and their petition, and I promised that I would in all things act according to the decision which he would deliver to me.

What we had decided upon was done, and our legates arriving at Rome by God's will, found a Synod assembled in the said City. And when they laid my wish and their petition before 250 bishops and a multitude of holy fathers, the Apostolic (Pope) after consulting the holy Synod, sent me this letter :

Leo, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God to his beloved son Edward, King of the English, health and Apostolical benediction.

On learning your intention, praiseworthy and pleasing to God, We have given thanks to Him by whom kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.

But seeing that God in every place is near to those who invoke Him in truth, and the Holy Apostles are one in spirit with their Head, and likewise listen to pious prayers ;

And seeing that it is plain that the English country would be endangered if thou, who by the bridle of justice hold in check its seditious elements, wert to depart therefrom ;

By the Authority of God, and of the holy Apostles and of the holy Synod, We absolve thee from the sin of that Vow, for which thou fearest to have offended God, and from all thy negligences and iniquities, using therein that power which the Lord hath given to us in Blessed Peter, saying, "Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Next, we command thee, in the name of holy obedience and penance, that the money which you had laid aside for this journey, you shall give to the poor, and a monastery in honour of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, thou shalt either newly found, or shalt repair or enlarge an old one, and from thy revenues thou shalt endow thy brethren with a sufficiency of support, so that by them continually praise may be given there to God, increase of glory to the Saints, and of indulgence to thee. And whatsoever to the said place thou shalt have given, or whatever may be given, or shall be given, that it may be ratified, We command by Apostolic authority, that it shall always be a monastic house, and that it shall be subject to no lay person save the King. And whatsoever privileges pertaining to God's honour thou shalt be pleased

to attach to the place, We grant, and confirm with the most potent authority, and condemn all infringers of the same with everlasting malediction.

The legates brought back these and other commands of the Apostolic and in the meantime Blessed Peter revealed to a cloistered monk, of holy life, named Wulsin, that it was his will that the place which is called Westminster should be restored, which had been founded from the time of St. Augustine, first Bishop of the English, and much honoured by the munificence of the ancient kings, and which through age and frequent tumults of wars, seemed now almost destroyed.

When he had related this vision to me and to mine, and when the Apostolic letters brought me commands to the same effect, I joined my will to the will of God, and with the assent of the whole nation, I devoted myself to the rebuilding of the said place.

Wherefore I have commanded all my substance to be tithed, in gold, or silver, or cattle, and all kinds of goods, and destroying the old church, I have built up a new one from the foundations and have caused it to be dedicated on the 5th Kalends of January.

In it, I have placed on the same day, the relics which Pope Martin, and Leo who consecrated him, gave to King Alfred, and those which he asked to be given him from Charlemagne, king of the French (whose daughter his father Ethelwulf married after the death of his first wife), and which passed from him to his successor Athelstan, from him to Edgar, and finally to us ; to wit :

Two pieces of our Lord's Cross ;
 A part of one Nail ;
 Part of His seamless Coat ;
 Relics from the raiment of Holy Mary ;
 Relics of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, Andrew, Bartholomew, Barnabas, and many other saints.
 Five reliquaries filled with the relics of other saints.

And I have decreed that any person guilty of treason or other offences who may take refuge in the place where these relics are kept, shall obtain impunity of life and limb, and of his crime.

The remaining half of the Charter is filled with the long list of endowments which King Edward, in fulfilment of the Pope's injunction, settled upon the new foundation. In another Charter* King Edward "makes it known to all future generations" that he has rebuilt the Abbey "by the command of Pope Leo," and "that he had renewed and added to the privileges and endowments

which the kings, my predecessors, have founded for St. Peter out of the supreme devotion which the English people have always had towards him and his Vicars."†

* Wilkins *Concilia*, i. p. 319.

† *Placuit mihi renovare, meliorare et confirmare consuetudines et donationes pecuniarum, quas antecessores mei reges Sancto Petro instituerant*

These words quite fit in with the passage of a Life of St. Edward the Confessor written by one of his contemporaries:

“The king destined to God that place both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he reverenced with a special and singular affection.”*

“This account, I therefore write,” says one of his ancient biographers, “that it may be understood, how from his true and tender heart he loved the Apostle St. Peter, his Lord and ours.”†

In these days when projects of disendowment are in the air, one may wonder if the nation, of whose history these charters form an inalienable part, will stop to consider what was the specific religion which both prompted and made the endowments.

If the will and intention of the donor is to count for anything in the ownership and application of a bequest, it is not easy to see how the endowments which the Rome-loving King Edward made in token of “supreme devotion to St. Peter and his Vicars” and in express compliance with *the wish of a Pope* could have been intended for the support of a system founded to repudiate the Pope’s “Jurisdiction in this realm of England”!

Be that as it may, the Catholic claim—the heritage of our Catholic forefathers—is something immeasurably higher than a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. We, with the Vicars-Apostolic in 1826, can well afford to leave that to those upon whom the law may settle it. Our inextinguishable and irrefutable claim, one which we can never cease to assert and vindicate, is to our undeniably oneness and membership with the Church of this land for more than ten centuries of its history. Even were we silent, the very parchments of our national records, and the very stones of our national Churches would cry out for us.

In the hands of Edward and his Catholic successors, Westminster Abbey has become one of the chiefest glories of our English church architecture. It is well that this, the stateliest of English historic shrines, and the one which for so many

propter summam devotionem quam habuit semper Anglorum gens erga eum
et eius Vicarios.

* Contemporary Life of St. Edward. Harleian MSS. pp. 980-985. *Ibid.*

† Lives of Edward the Confessor. Edited by Dr. Luard. (Rolls Series).

reasons is nearest to the national heart, should stand aloft in our midst as the imperishable monument of a Pope's act of spiritual jurisdiction over an Anglo-Saxon king, and of an Anglo-Saxon king's obedience to, and recognition of, a Pope's jurisdiction. Truly that, if nothing more, is a compensation exceeding great for King Edward's unfulfilled Roman pilgrimage.

IX.

The stream of archbishops and of bishops which flowed from England to Rome was naturally not less steady or strong than that of the kings. The Archbishops of Canterbury, as Primates of the English Church, play, as we might expect, a leading part in maintaining the traditional going and coming between England and the Apostolic See. Thus, taking merely the Primates of the Anglo-Saxon period, to the names of Augustine¹ (598), Laurence² (605), Mellitus³ (619), Justus⁴ (630), Honorius⁵ (634), Theodore⁶ (668), who came to us from Rome, we have to add those of Tatwine⁷ (731), Nothelm⁸ (735), Cuthbert⁹ (741), Jaenbert¹⁰ (763), Æthelhard¹¹ (790), Wulfred¹² (803), Ceolnoth¹³ (830), Ethelred¹⁴ (870), Phlegemund¹⁵ (891), Dunstan¹⁶ (959), Sigeric¹⁷ (990), Ælfric¹⁸ (995), Ælfeah¹⁹ (1006), Æthelnoth²⁰ (1020), Robert²¹ (1050), whose journeys to Rome, for Pall or pilgrimage, form a continuous strand in the texture of our annals.

Eadmer, in his Life of St. Dunstan, gives a typical picture of the manner in which an Anglo-Saxon Primate was received at Rome, while at the same time the tone and wording of the record, written as it is by such a representative Englishman as Eadmer, allows us to see for ourselves how the fact of such a reception was welcomed and appreciated in England.

An earlier writer chronicled the event as follows :

Finally, he (St. Dunstan) arrived, by God's guidance, at the desired Church of the Roman See, where he gloriously received the princely

¹ Bede, i. p. 23. ² *Ibid.* i. p. 29. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* v. p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. p. 1. ⁷ William Malmesb. G. P., § 36. ⁸ Bede, i. pref.

⁹ Gervase of Canterbury. ¹⁰ De Diceto, p. 444. ¹¹ Flor. Wor. Ann. 797.

¹² A. S. Chron. A. 812. ¹³ De Diceto. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Gervase, "Lives of Archbishops." ¹⁶ Hoveden, 244.

¹⁷ A. S. Chron. A. 990. ¹⁸ *Ibid.* A. 995. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1007.

²⁰ Flor. Wor. A. 99, 1022. ²¹ A. S. Chron. A. 1048.

Pallium, in privilege of his archbishopric, along with the Apostolic benediction.*

Eadmer says :

After this, as soon as an opportunity occurred, he (Dunstan) sought the tomb of the most Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and at his coming the Pontiff of the Supreme See received him with marks of sincere affection, and later on, dealing with him more familiarly, he undoubtedly recognised him to be a temple of the Holy Spirit, and honoured him magnificently, and most fittingly adorned him with the Stole (pall) of his apostleship, for which he had come. And thus having delegated to him the Legateship of the Apostolic See to the English people, he appointed him as the Pastor and provider of their souls.†

X.

The pilgrimage of Siric, Archbishop of Canterbury, which took place just about this time nine hundred years ago, will always have a special value of its own, from the fact that it has fortunately left imprinted upon our records a contemporary account of the shrines which he visited, and, what is hardly less interesting, a detailed list of his route and resting-places on his return journey from Rome to England.

In the year 990, Siric or Sigeric, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us, "was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and went to Rome for his pall.". According to Dr. Stubbs he arrived in the city probably in the month of July.

The record, which reads like the jottings of a diary, is presumably the work of one of his attendants. It has been published in the Appendix of the Memorials of St. Dunstan, edited by the present Bishop of Oxford, who has done much to elucidate the obscure names of the localities mentioned. It begins as follows :

The coming of our Archbishop, Sigeric, to Rome.
 First to the tomb of Blessed Peter, the Apostle.
 Then to St. Mary, the school of the English.
 To St. Laurence of the Gridiron (*in craticula*).
 To St. Valentine's in Ponte Molle.
 To St. Agnes'.
 To St. Laurence's, outside the walls.
 To St. Sebastian's.

* "Memorials of S. Dunstan," edited by Dr. Stubbs (Rolls Series). Vita S. Dunstani Auctore B. p. 108.

† "Memorials of S. Dunstan." Vita S. Dunstani Eadmero auctore (Rolls Series), p. 198.

To St. Anastasia's.
To St. Paul's
To St. Boniface's.
To St. Sabina's (*Ad Sanctam Savinam*).
To St. Mary of the School of the Greeks.
To St. Cecilia's.
To St. Chrysogonus'.
To St. Maria in Trastevere (*Transtyberi*).
To St. Pancratius'.
Then they returned home.
In the morning to St. Maria Rotunda (Pantheon).
To the Holy Apostles.
To St. John Lateran's.
Thence we rested (*refecimus*) with the Apostle Lord John (Pope John VIII.)
Then to Jerusalem (*Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme*).
To St. Mary Major's.
To St. Peter ad Vincula.
To St. Laurence's, where his body was roasted.

Thus the Anglo-Saxon Primate seems to have done Rome in a very conscientious way, and, no doubt, after the leisurely and devotional manner of his time.

The rest of the record is simply a list of the stages—*sub mansiones*—of his journey back. If we can accept these stages, not merely as resting-places, but as places which mark the end of a day's journey, the Archbishop's progress had in it nothing of undignified haste. He and his suite seem to have been content with covering an average march of about fourteen miles a day. Stage No. 1 is the "Urbs Romana," as the starting-point. The second stage is "Joannis VIII.," occupied probably in a farewell visit to the Pope. The third is at Bacano, the fourth at Sutri, the fifth at Forum Casii, the sixth at Viterbo. The next day they were at Montefiascone, the day following at Bolsena, and the day after that at Aquapendente. Thus, at the end of the first week, they were only some sixty-five miles from Rome. Nearly another week later they arrived at Sienna. Eight days later they crossed the Arno, near Fucecchio, and three days afterwards were in Lucca. The thirty-eighth stage was at Piacenza, the forty-first at Pavia, the forty-third at Vercelli, and forty-seventh at Aosta, and the forty-eighth at St. Reni. From there, the Archbishop made his way across the Alps under the shadow

of the Great St. Bernard, and bent his course to the north-west, keeping the Lake of Geneva on his left. On the 54th day he arrived at Lausanne, and on the 57th at Pontarlier. Henceforth he kept steadily northward, passing through Burgundy and the Champagne country, by Brienne (66th), Chalons-sur-Marne (69th), Rheims (70th), Laon (72nd), Arras (75). Three days later (78th), still keeping east of Paris, he was at Guisnes, almost in sight of the sea, within easy distance of Calais. The diarist has left the cross-channel part of the journey unrecorded.

The Anglo-Saxon Archbishop, with his attendants, must have arrived home on some day late in autumn, and when the harvests of 990 had long been garnered from the Kentish fields through which he passed. He had spent nearly three months on the Roman journey, which our present Archbishop and the Roman pilgrims would have made in three days. Methods of time and travel have altered since Sigeric crossed the Alps, but the faith and purpose of English pilgrimages remain unchanged. The memories of this Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage nine hundred years ago, and the memories of last month, strike across the centuries one of those deep notes of harmony with which the records of our country will for ever make music to the heart of a Catholic.

When, a few weeks ago, on that memorable Sunday morning of February 19th, Englishmen and Englishwomen were assembled under the mighty dome of St. Peter's, before the altar-tomb of the Apostles, at which the venerated successor of St. Gregory the Great, of Vitalian, and of Agatho, of Leo and of John, was celebrating Mass, it must have been with a thrill of Catholic and patriotic joy that they remembered that the spot on which they knelt was holy and historic ground—the same to which the Primates, Bishops, Kings and Saints of the early English Church, in a continuous and age-long procession, journeyed over sea and land to pray, as to the Apostolic source, both of their Faith, and of that glorious psalmody that gladdened the Churches, Monasteries, and Cathedrals of the land for a thousand years of our history.

J. MOYES.

ART. II.—THE *MISSA CATECHUMENORUM*
IN THE GREEK LITURGIES.

1. *The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities.*
Edited by C. A. SWAINSON, D.D. (Cambridge, 1884.)
2. *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα.* (Rome, 1873.)
3. *Ἡ θείη Δειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου Ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου,
ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὸ Διονυσίου Λάτα Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ζακύνθου.*
(Zante, 1886.)

THE admirable critical edition of the Greek Liturgies published nearly ten years ago by the late Dr. Swainson, may be said to have rendered comparatively easy an accurate and systematic study of these valuable and venerable documents. The primary editions of Ducas, Morel, and Drouard, and the great collections of Goar, Renaudot and Assemani, are accessible only to the few, and their *apparatus criticus*, besides being imperfect, is far from conveniently arranged; while modern editors have for the most part been content either to reprint the text from one of the earlier editions, or else to present the Liturgies *ad normam hodie receptam*. Dr. Swainson was fortunate enough to obtain transcripts or fresh collations of nearly all the MSS. employed by his predecessors, and has, moreover, printed from manuscript sources several complete texts which were either entirely new or only very imperfectly known. Yet it may fairly be said that adequate use has not yet been made of the results of Dr. Swainson's labours, and comparatively little has yet been done to supplement the somewhat meagre introduction and notes with which he was content to illustrate the very valuable textual materials which he had collected.

It would obviously be impossible, within the limits of a single article, to describe and discuss in detail the entire structure of the Greek Liturgies. In the following pages we propose to confine our attention to that portion of the service which ended with the dismissal of the Catechumens, and which,

though the title is not strictly correct, we have called the *Missa Catechumenorum*.*

The Liturgies which we shall have under consideration are the four which bear the names respectively of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom. Of these the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is the one which is ordinarily in use throughout the Greek Church, both Catholic and Schismatic. In the Barberini MS. (sæc. viii.) of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom that of St. Basil holds the place of honour,† but it is now employed only on about ten days in the year, including the Sundays in Lent, except Palm Sunday, and the Feast of St. Basil himself.‡ The Liturgies of St. James and St. Mark had fallen into general, but not complete, disuse in the twelfth century, but the former is still celebrated once a year, viz., on the feast of St. James, in the Metropolitan Church of Zante.§

Whatever may be the precise truth as to the authorship of those four Liturgies, there are sufficient grounds for assuming that they represent, in their main features, the liturgical usage of the four great sees of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, of Constantinople, and of Cæsarea, from about the close of the fourth century downwards. A greater antiquity it would not be safe to claim, at least for the two last named; for, apart from the names which they bear, and from the tradition which associates those names with an epoch-making activity in the work of liturgical reconstruction, the Antiochene writings of St. Chrysostom himself contain abundant evidence that the so-called Clementine Liturgy—which has been preserved for us in the eighth book of the "Apostolical Constitutions"—was still in use at Antioch during the years of his ministry in that city (A.D. 386-397).|| On the other hand, the close parallelism, often amounting to verbal correspondence, between the Liturgy of St. James (so-called) and the Syriac St. James, and in like

* The service of the Prothesis with which we shall be chiefly concerned, forms, strictly speaking, no part of the *M. Catechumenorum*, but is preliminary to it.

† Swainson, pp. 75, 88.

‡ Εὐχολόγιον, p. 81.

§ To the Rev. F. E. Brightman, of the Pusey House, Oxford, we are indebted for the use of the extremely interesting edition of St. James, edited by the Archbishop of Zante in 1886. We have to thank him also for having read the MS. of this paper, and for many valuable suggestions and corrections.

|| Probst, *Die Antiochenische Messe*, &c., in the Ztschr. f. K. T. 1883, pp. 250 sqq. Hammond, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch* (Oxford, 1881).

manner between St. Mark and the Coptic St. Cyril, can only be explained on the supposition that these Liturgies had taken shape before the separation of the Syrian and Coptic Monophysites from Catholic unity, in the fifth century. For, in this case, the hypothesis of borrowing on either side after the separation, cannot be maintained.*

The question as to the antiquity of particular portions of the several Liturgies cannot, however, be determined by any general statement, such as the foregoing, but must be settled in each case, so far as it can be settled at all, by a careful scrutiny of whatever evidence may be forthcoming. And here, we think, Dr. Swainson has allowed himself to fall into a somewhat serious error. He appears to be of the opinion that a comparison of the liturgical MSS. of the various ages is all that is needed in order that we may trace the growth of the Liturgies.† But to speak thus is to ignore the very important circumstance that the earlier Greek liturgical MSS., like the early Western Sacramentaries, do not profess to give a complete account of the service. To a greater or less extent they confine themselves to the celebrant's part of the sacred action, omitting all, or nearly all, that belongs to the deacon or to the choir—no inconsiderable portion of a Greek Liturgy—and conveying a very minimum of rubrical directions. Moreover, even of the celebrant's part it may be assumed that certain portions were supposed to be known by heart.‡

The comparison of liturgical MSS. is, indeed, only one of several means which must be employed if we would successfully trace the growth of the Liturgies ; and in particular it must be supplemented by a careful study of those Byzantine writers who either treat of the Liturgy *ex professo*, or who deal with the elaborate ceremonial, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Court

* Renaudot, *Liturgiae Orientales*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae* (1845), pp. 19, 87.

† P. xxxvi. One of the most striking features of Dr. Swainson's volume is his presentment of the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the Presanctified, in three stages, viz., as they appear (1) in the Barberini Codex of the eighth century ; (2) in the Coutts MSS. of the eleventh ; (3) in the *Editio princeps* of Ducas (Rome, 1620).

‡ The Marquess of Bute has called attention, in connection with the Coptic rite, to the incompleteness of such information as can be obtained from "Mediæval MSS. . . . which seem to contain hardly anything but the parts read by the priest." (*The Coptic Morning Service*, London, 1882, p. i.).

of Constantinople.* It would not of course be safe to rely unreservedly on the testimony of the *Commentarius Liturgicus*, and of the *Mystica Contemplatio* attributed respectively to St. Sophronius of Jerusalem, and St. Germanus of Constantinople. The former may probably be of later date than the seventh century; and there is unquestionable evidence that the latter has been freely interpolated.† But we shall find sufficient evidence in liturgical writings of undisputed authenticity to justify us in dissenting from Dr. Swainson's low estimate of the antiquity of certain portions of the Byzantine ceremonial. We cannot absolutely prove that liturgical and architectural development went hand in hand; but we suspect that signs of the growth of the Byzantine Liturgy should be looked for rather in the age which saw the erection of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople, than in a period of comparative stagnation and decline.

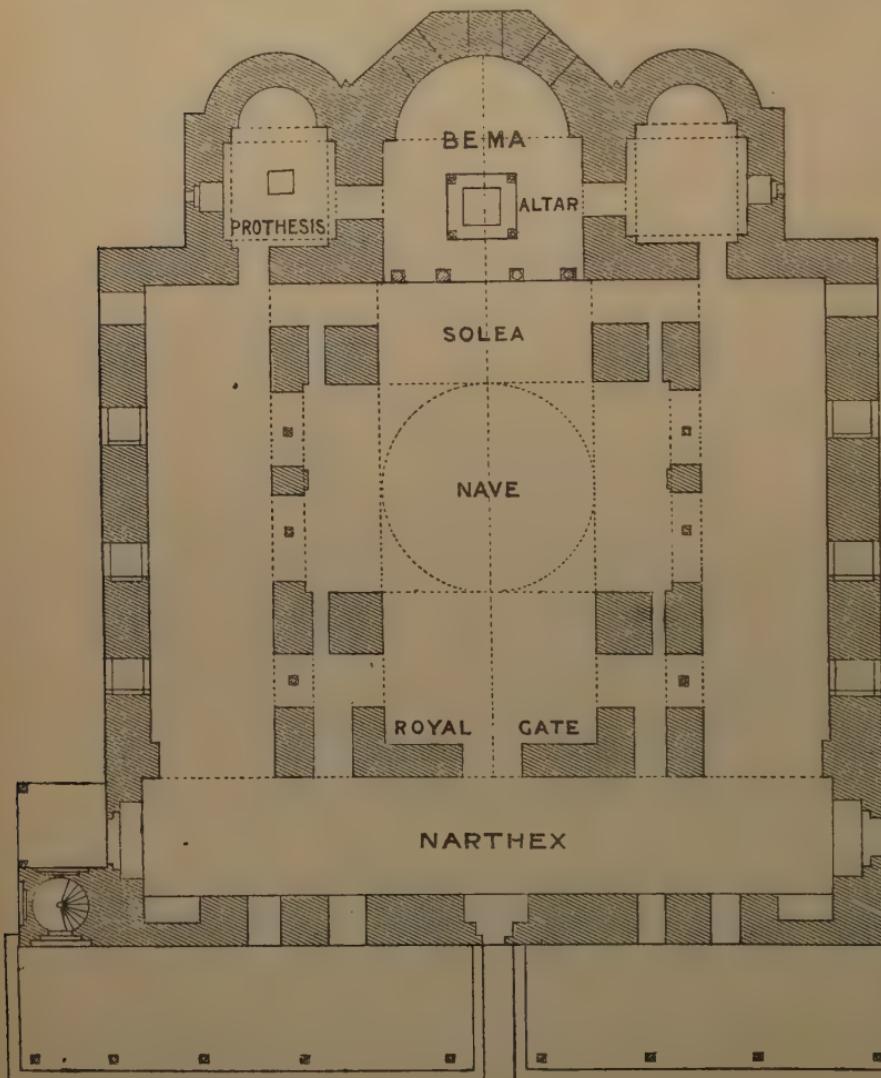
Whether, however, our view on this subject be correct or not, it will greatly help towards the understanding of the Liturgies to preface our account of them by a brief description, gathered as far as possible from original authorities, of the parts and arrangements of a Greek church.

Passing through the outer vestibule and the atrium with its fourfold colonnade, and entering the main building, we find that it consists of three principal parts—the narthex or inner

* The Liturgical writers to whom we shall have occasion to refer are the following: Dionys. Areop. *De Cœlest. Hierarch.* c. iii. (*Patrologia Græca*, vol. i.; a work of the fourth or fifth century falsely ascribed to Dionysius); S. Sophronii Patr. Hierosol. *Commentarius Liturgicus* (*P. G.* lxxxvii. ; probably spurious, but earlier than the eleventh century); S. Maximi Confessoris, *Mystagogia* (sæc. vii. *P. G.* xci; genuine); S. Germani Patr. Cpol. *Mystica Contemplatio* (sæc. viii. *P. G.* xcvi.; genuine, but largely interpolated); Theodori Studitæ *Explicatio Lit. Præsanct.*, and other works (sæc. ix. *P. G.* xcix.); Theodori Andidensis *Commentarii Liturgica* (sæc. xii. or earlier; in *Mai Nova Bibl.* vol. vi.); Nicolai Cabasilæ *Liturгie Expositio* (sæc. xiv. *P. G.* cl.); Simeonis Thessalonicensis *Dial. c. Hæreses* and *Expositio de divino Templo* (sæc. xiv. *P. G.* clv.). On the genuineness of the four last-named treatises no doubt, as far as we are aware, has been suggested. In the case of other Byzantine writers the references are to the editions in the *Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinorum*, unless some different source is specified.

† Cardinal Pitra discovered a Latin translation, by Anastasius of Sinai, of the *Mystica Contemplatio*. A comparison with the Greek text shows how much has been added in later ages to the genuine work of St. Germanus. It is much to be regretted that the learned Cardinal has given only a specimen and not the entire text, of the Latin version (*Jus Eccl. Græcorum*, ii. 298). This discovery however should have prevented a writer in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.* from repeating the obsolete hypothesis that the treatise is perhaps to be ascribed to Germanus II. (sæc. xiii.). It is hardly permissible even to conjecture that a work which was translated in the ninth century may perhaps have been written in the thirteenth. (*Cf.* Pitra, l.c. 297).

porch, the nave with its aisles, and the bema or sanctuary with its adjuncts.* The narthex (*νάρθηξ*, *πρόσναος*) is narrow



PLAN I.—Church of St. Nicholas at Myra. (Texier and Pullan, Plate LVIII.)

A few details have been filled in conjecturally from R. de Fleury, Plate CCXLII.

from W. to E., and has for its length the entire width of the building. Taking its origin as it would seem from a space

* Ο θεῖος ἄπας ναὸς τριαδικῶς θεωρέεται, τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ φημι καὶ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ τῷ βῆματι (Sim. Thess. *de Templo* p. 5). The description in the text will be understood from Plan I.

merely railed off at the lower end of the nave, it is not a matter for surprise that the relation of the narthex to the body of the Church was not always precisely the same. In some cases it formed, architecturally, together with the aisles, an interior portico surrounding the nave on three sides, and presumably separated from it only by a screen.* In others it was more completely divided from the nave and aisles alike.† To such differences of architectural structure corresponded no doubt certain differences of practice which the apparently conflicting statements of Byzantine writers reveal. Thus we read that in the fourth or fifth century the narthex was the appointed place for the catechumens and for that class of penitents who were called *audientes*, and who could hear therefrom the reading of the lessons and the homily of the preacher.‡ But it would seem that when larger churches came to be built, and the narthex assumed the character of a chamber more entirely separated from the nave, it was used as a place to which the catechumens and penitents withdrew, rather than from which they were dismissed, before the commencement of the *Missa fidelium*.§ We may add that in monastic churches the narthex was the station of the laity.||

We learn from Allatius that people who came late for the

* This arrangement may be seen—e.g., in the churches of St. Bardias at Thessalonica, and of St. Nicholas at Myra (Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, Pl. I., lviii.).

† “Primus iste thalamus templi, a templo tamen procurrentibus undique muris separatur.” (Leo Allatius *De Rebus Eccl. Gracorum*, p. 110). So it is—e.g., in Sta Sophia at Constantinople (which has or had a double narthex, outer and inner), in Sta Sophia at Thessalonica (T. & P., Pl. xxxv., xxxvi.), and in the *Orta Hissar Damasi* at Trebizond (Pl. lxvii.) which also has a double narthex.

‡ Ἡ ἀκρόσις (the place of the *audientes*) ἐνδοθή τὴς πύλης ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι. So says a canon appended to the *Epist. Canonica* of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, which however is really a scholion to St. Basil *Ep. Can. cc.* 57, 75. This is the earliest mention of the narthex and of its special purpose. The reference in Kraus (*Real-Encyclopädie*) to *Const. Ap.* viii. 5, Basil I. c., and Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Letoium* are interesting but somewhat misleading, as the narthex (*eo nomine*) is not mentioned in any of these places. In the church of Sta Sophia at Thessalonica, “the narthex communicates with the nave by means of three doorways, and by windows, through which the catechumens and penitents heard the services”; but perhaps not the sermon (T. & P. p. 143).

§ Sim. Thess. (*Dial.* 153), οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἐξωθούμενοι περὶ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἰστανται. These words seem clear enough, yet in c. 155 he says of the penitents and catechumens, ἐξωθεν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μένοντι (when the faithful enter the church after the antiphons). But how could any one hear a sermon from the narthex of Sta Sophia at Constantinople or of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica, Simeon’s own church? Cf. Du Cange *Descr. St. Soph.* (appended to Paul Sil. in the *C. & B.*); Allatius, p. 94.

|| Allatius, p. 113.

Church services were obliged to remain in the narthex,* and Paul the Silentary tells us that here the faithful listened to the chanting of the nocturnal office.† Here, too, certain subsidiary services were held, especially in penitential seasons, and all the offices except lauds and vespers are still said here;‡ and here the faithful remained during the preliminary service of the Liturgy until the inner gates were thrown open at the time of the solemn Introit.§

The nave, usually flanked by aisles, was occupied by the faithful.|| According to the ancient discipline, the women occupied the north and the men the south side;¶ but in the larger churches the *gynæconitis* was in the galleries over the narthex and aisles.** Three doors, of which the central one was called the beautiful or royal gate (*ώραιοι* or *βασιλικαὶ πύλαι*), gave entrance to the nave and aisles respectively. At the upper end of the nave was the *solea* or choir, with seats or stalls for the subdeacons, lectors, and cantors. What the precise nature of the *solea* was has been much disputed. That it was not a marked architectural feature of the building may be gathered from an inspection of almost any plan of a Greek church. But it was commonly raised by one or more steps above the floor of the nave, like the transept of a Roman Basilica, and it was probably surrounded by a permanent or movable *septum*.††

* Allat. pp. 111, 112.

+ *Descr. St. Sophiae*, v. 430.

† Allat. pp. 113, 114. *Rompotes Δειπονρυγκή*, p. 343.

§ Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 155. There is no real discrepancy between the description of the narthex as *within* the doors, in the canon ascribed to St. Greg. Thaum., and the assertion of Sim. Thess. (*Dial.* c. 124) that it was *outside* the *ώραιοι πύλαι*. These last were the inner doors opening into the nave.

|| The comparison of a church to a ship (*ναός, navis, our nave*), in the raised poop of which (the *bema* with its apse) is the bishop's throne, is found as early as Const. *Ap.* ii. 51.

¶ *C. Ap.* ibid.

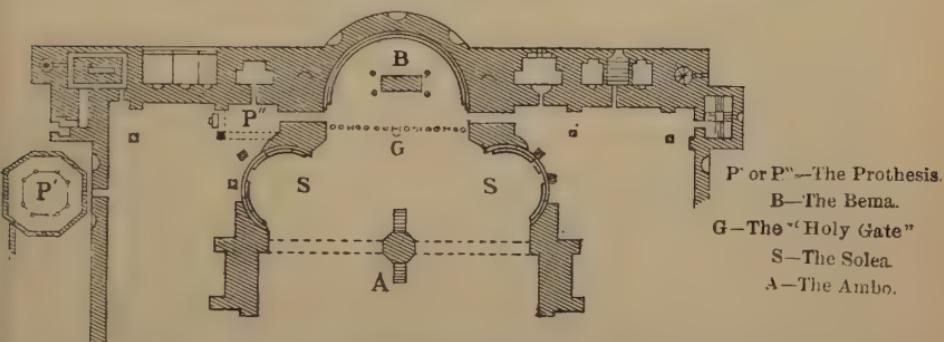
** Paul Sil. vv. 585 *sqq.*, Texier & Pullan, *passim*. The statement of Du Cange (p. 146) that in the church of Sta Sophia the aisles alone were occupied by the laity, seems to contradict the direct testimony of Sim. Thess. c. 152. When Procopius (*De Aedif. Constantini* I. 2) speaks of the aisles as the place where the faithful prayed, he is, we think, to be understood as referring to times of private prayer, when the approaches to the nave (in a large church) might be closed. So Paul. Nol. *Ep.* xxxii. n. 12.

†† Τποδιακόνους καὶ ἀγαγνῶτας δὲ ἔξωθεν τοῦ βῆματος περὶ τὸν σωλέαν ὁ δῆ καὶ βῆμα καλεῖται ἀναγνωστῶν (Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 135). Τὸν σωλέαν (Ιουστινιανὸς ἐπόλησε) χρῦσα, says Codinus (*Descr. St. Soph.* p. 142), adding (p. 144) that after it had been destroyed by the fall of the dome Justin replaced the gold with silver. This is perhaps more easily understood of a balustrade than of an inlaid floor. The words of Theod. Stud. (*apud* Du Cange, c. 73) οἵ τε θεῖοι κιονες καὶ οἱ σόλιοι καλούμενοι ἀ τὸ σεβάσμον διατειχίζοντι θυμιαστήριον certainly seems to imply an

At Sta Sophia there was room in or on the *solea* for "cohorts, with their standards on either side,"* and it seems to have occupied the whole space flanked by the north and south apses, which were advanced in front of the central apse and inclined obliquely towards the centre of the space covered by the dome. For, according to Paul the Silentuary, these two apses embrace the choir as with outstretched arms—

λαὸν δπως πολυνύμιον ἐοῖς ἀγκάσσεται οἴκοις.†

The *Ambo* or pulpit from which the lessons were read stood in front of the central door of the *Bema* at the outer limit of



II.—Eastern End of Sta. Sophia, Constantinople.
Some of the details have been filled in from the description given by Paul the Silentuary.

the *solea* or choir.‡ It was approached by two flights of steps, one leading up from the nave, the other from the *solea*.§ Such at least was the normal arrangement, but in smaller churches the Ambo often stood at the side, and in some instances it would seem that a separate Ambo was used for the Epistle

outer rail, that of the *solea*, parallel, more or less, with the *κίονες* of the βῆμα. Cf. *Comm. Lit.* n. 4; ἡ σωλέια εἰς τυπον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ χωρίζοντος τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς ἐκ τῶν δικαίων. *Nicophorus (Antirrhet.* ii. 45) speaks of people sitting on the *κυκλίδες* and *σωλέαι* in front of the sanctuary, which is probably to be understood of seats structurally connected with the barrier.

* *Const. Porphy. de Cœr. Aul. Byz.* p. 15.

† *Descr. St. Sophiae*, 375. See Plan II. A most suggestive paper by Mr. Freshfield in the *Archæologia*, xlii., 383 seqq., throws much light on the triapsidal arrangement of Byzantine Churches.

‡ The central position of the pulpit is already prescribed in *Const. Apost.* ii. 57.

§ *Codinus de Off.* p. 91. Paul the Silentuary has a whole poem on the splendid Ambo of Sta Sophia, which with its noble canopy he likens to a tower (vv. 50 seqq.).

and Gospel respectively, just as is the case in the church of S. Clemente in Rome.*

The *Bema* or sanctuary is raised by several steps above the *solea* or choir, and is separated from it by a screen. The earliest form of this screen may probably have been a simple curtain; but in the fourth century we find it described as a wooden grating or trellis.† In course of time wood gave place to a metal grating or barrier stretching from base to base of a series of pillars. These again supported a continuous architrave, whereon were placed statues of Christ, our Blessed Lady, the Baptist and other Saints.‡ In some cases the pillars and the low barrier gave place to a solid screen whereon the sacred figures were painted.§ The entire screen with its statues or paintings is called the *Iconostasis*.

The sanctuary is entered by the "holy doors," and in its centre is the altar. The altar is square, supported, ordinarily, on four pillars, and beneath it was a casket or shrine containing relics, which is called by Simeon the ciborium (*κιβώριον*).|| This term, however, was more commonly used to designate the canopy, resting on four columns, which in the larger churches at least surmounted the altar.¶ Under the altar was also a *piscina* (*θάλασσα, θακαστίδιον*).

The sanctuary terminates in an apse (*κόγχη, concha*) in the centre of which, against the wall, is the raised throne of the

* Pachymerus (*de Mich. Palaeol.*, p. 173) speaks of *ambones*, in the plural, as restored by Paisceologus in Sta Sophia.

† Ἀγιον θυσιαστήριον . . . ὡς ἀν εἴη τοῖς πολλοῖς διβατα, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις. Eusebius *H.E.* x. 4.

‡ Germanus (l. c. 390, 392) speaks of the metal grating (*κάγκελλα χαλκᾶ*) and of pillars supporting an architrave (*κοσμήτης*), on which Simeon (*Dial.* c. 136) places statues.

§ Goar (*Euchologium* p. 18) says: "Reticula illa lignea mutavit Ecclesia Orientalis in tabulata solida a tempori quo iconoclastarum furore turbata plures et frequentiores sanctorum imagines ibi depictas esse voluit." This is to antedate the change by several centuries, and to overlook the intermediate and normal form of the screen (cf. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, vol. iii. plates ccxxxix.-ccxlii.). Goar seems here, as elsewhere, to have misunderstood Germanus and Simeon.

|| Simeon's words (l. c. 341) are quite plain: *καὶ κιβώριον ὑποκάτω ταυτῆς* (sc. τῆς τραπέζης) *ἀντὶ τοῦ μνήματος* (i.e., to symbolise the tomb of our Lord). Goar strangely misunderstands this passage, confounding the four pillars which support the *altar* (*ἡ τραπέζα ὑπὸ στῦλων βασταζομένη*) with columns supporting a baldachino. Germanus (l. c. 389) seems to use the word in the same sense as Simeon.

¶ Paul Sil. *Descr. St. Soph.* 720 *sqq.*, *Jo. Thessal.* in *Boll. Act. SS.* t. iv. Oct., p. 133, Theod. Stud. l. c. 1793, Theophanes, p. 360, Const. Porphy. *Caer.* p. 232, Malalas, p. 490.

Bishop. It is called in the Liturgies ἡ ἄνω καθέδρα, the higher throne or chair, probably to distinguish it from the lesser throne or faldstool in the lower part of the Church of which mention is made in one of Goar's MSS. of St. Basil, and in the *'Αρχιερατικόν* or Greek Pontifical.* It is, however, at least possible that the expression is intended merely to mark off the bishop's throne from the lower seats (*οἱ σύνθρονοι*) which skirt the wall on either hand, and which are occupied by the assistant priests.†

Right and left of the *Bema* are two enclosed spaces, occupying, very commonly, the apses of the two aisles, and communicating with the sanctuary by a door in the dividing wall, and with the aisles by doors opposite to those in the narthex. In the northern enclosure stands the Table of the Prothesis, or credence, where the elements are prepared at the outset of the service.‡ With the southern chamber, which seems to have been used as a sacristy, we are not here concerned. It only remains to add that in what follows we shall have in view throughout the full Pontifical rite as carried out in "the great Church" (i.e., Sta Sophia), of which all lesser celebrations may be regarded as reduced copies.

All four Liturgies, as they appear in the MSS., commence with one or more prayers connected with the preliminary service, called the Prothesis or Proskomide—i.e., the preparation of the gifts and preliminary offertory, which is performed, as has been said, either in the apse of the northern aisle, or in some corresponding enclosure or recess. Four principal elements may be distinguished in the ceremonial of the Prothesis as it is performed at the present day in the Byzantine rite, with which the other Liturgies may be compared point by point.

(1) There is first a confession of sinfulness or unworthiness. This in the Byzantine Liturgy is expressed merely by the single invocation, several times repeated, "O God be merciful

* Goar, p. 181, Swainson, p. 152. Habert, *'Αρχιερατικόν s. Liber Pontificalis Graecorum*; "Ministri Patriarchæ suggestum parant, constitutes eum intra ædem in januis regiis sive in ferula (*νάθρηκι*)," p. 1.

† The position of the Bishop's throne is prescribed in *Const. Ap.* ii. 51.

‡ It is clear from what has been said above, and from a comparison of the ground plan of Sta Sophia with the Silentuary's description, that the Prothesis cannot in this case have occupied the northern apse, as Du Cange supposes. We suspect that it is to be looked for in a large octagonal chamber at the N.E. corner of the basilica. Cf. Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 137, *εἰ καὶ πορρωτέρω ποτε ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἥσαν ναοῖς* (sc. *αἱ προθέσεις*).

to me a sinner." In the Liturgy of St. James, however, this invocation is embodied in a prayer of great beauty and of marked dogmatic significance. A similar prayer is found in the Syriac rite. In the Greek it runs as follows:—

Defiled as I am with a multitude of sins, reject me not O Master, God my Lord; for behold I approach not this Thy divine and heavenly mystery as being worthy [to do so], but looking to Thy goodness I address to Thee this cry: *O God be merciful to me a sinner.* I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and I am not worthy to look upon this Thy sacred and spiritual table, whereon Thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ is mystically set before me a sinner, defiled with every kind of stain, to be sacrificed. Wherefore I offer to Thee this supplication [and thanksgiving*] that Thou mayest send down upon me Thy Holy Spirit the Paraclete to strengthen and fit me for this ministry; and make me worthy to utter without blame to Thy people this word wherewith I am charged by Thee: [Hitherto in secret, the rest aloud] In Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom thou art blessed and glorified, together with Thine all-holy and gracious and life-giving Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.†

(2) The Psalm *Larabo*, &c., and vesting prayers. Of these no more need be said than that the occurrence of similar formulæ in other Liturgies, eastern and western, bears witness to the high antiquity of the usage of such prayers and of the recognition of the symbolism which they imply. They are not found, however, in the MSS. of St. James or of St. Mark.

(3) The Prothesis proper or *προσκομιδή*. This, in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, is accompanied by a somewhat elaborate ceremonial, the description of which we quote in substance and in an abridged form from the *Euchologium*.

The priest standing at the table of Prothesis takes the first oblate (*προσφορά*) into his left hand, and with his next the sacred spear or knife

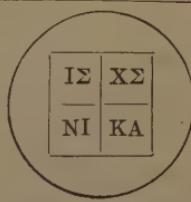
* καὶ εὐχαριστῶν om. Cod. Par. 417 (Swainson, p. 215).

† Dr. Neale's rendering of this prayer (*The Liturgies Translated*, London, 1859, p. 31) contains several mistakes. Τὴν φώνην surely does not mean "my voice," but refers to the word or cry which follows, "Lord be merciful," &c. Αὐτοφθαλμῆσαι does not mean "to present myself before," but "to look upon." Εμοὶ προκεῖται εἰς θυσίαν does not mean "is set forth as a sacrifice for me," but "is set before me to be sacrificed." Finally, τὴν παρὰ σοῦ μοι ἐπαγγελθεῖσαν φωνὴν ταῦτην ἐπιφθέγξασθαι does not mean "to declare the word delivered by me (!) to Thy people from Thee," but "to utter this word announced to me by Thee;" "this word" being, it would seem, the termination or *ἐκφώνησις* of the prayer, considered as implying a right to intercede for the people in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It should be added that this *Apologia* in St. James follows, instead of preceding, the prothesis, which in this liturgy is represented, as will be seen, only by a single prayer.

(λόγχη) with which he makes the sign of the cross (*σφραγίζει*) over the bread, saying: "In memory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Making four incisions on the four sides of the raised *signaculum* (*σφραγίς*) and so detaching it from the loaf, he says: (1) "As a sheep to the slaughter he was led"; (2) "And as an innocent lamb before his shearer is dumb, so opened He not His mouth"; (3) "In His lowliness His judgment was exalted"; (4) "And His generation who shall declare?"* (Isai. liii. 7, 8, lxx.) Lifting up with the spear the *signaculum* which he has just detached, he says: "For His life is exalted from the earth always, now [and for ever]." And placing it upon the paten he "immolates" it (*θύει*), marking it crosswise on the soft side, and saying: "The Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world is immolated for the life and salvation of the world." Then while the deacon mingles the wine and water in the chalice (in memory of the blood and water that flowed from the Saviour's side) the celebrant pierces the *signaculum*, saying: "And one of the soldiers pierced His side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water." The celebrant now takes a second oblate, and cutting off a particle with the spear he places it on the paten, "in honour and commemoration of our most Blessed and Glorious Lady Mary ever Virgin, Mother of God, through whose intercession do Thou, O Lord, receive this sacrifice upon Thy heavenly altar." In like manner a number of particles are taken from three other oblates and placed on the paten with (1) a commemoration of St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, and other saints, and (2) a memento for the living, and (3) for the dead.†

It will be seen, then, that the Prothesis essentially consists in the selection of a portion of the bread offered by the faithful, and its due preparation, together with that of the chalice. The taking of portions from several oblates is obviously intended to signify *inter alia* that every one's offering is represented in the holy sacrifice. Covel, quoted by Dr. Neale, mentions a custom of rubbing a few crumbs at least from every oblate that has been presented.‡ We find the rudiments at least of the Byzantine ceremonial in many of the

* The oblate is a small round loaf of bread with a raised portion in the centre of its upper surface. This raised part, which is called "the seal," and also "the Lamb," is square in form, marked with a cross and with letters signifying "Jesus Christ conquers." We borrow our illustration from Daniel, p. 386.



† The details regarding the number and arrangement of the particles vary somewhat in the different recensions.

‡ *Liturgies Translated*, p. 168. "We offer to God temporal things," says Cabasilas, "and receive eternal"—i.e., we offer the unconsecrated elements and receive the Body and Blood of Christ.

Eastern Liturgies, if not in all of them, with several remarkable coincidences both in the verbal formulæ and in the ritual observances. Thus in the Armenian rite the celebrant goes to the credence, where the first deacon offers him the oblate, which he places on the paten with the words: "A memorial of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and then prays for those who have made the offering.* And while pouring the wine and water into the chalice, he commemorates the outpouring of blood and water from the side of our Lord.†

In the Syriac Liturgy the deacon presents the oblate to the celebrant, who, after invoking a blessing upon those who have made the offering, divides the loaf into as many portions as need be, saying: "As a lamb to the slaughter," and the rest.‡ The same words occur at the outset of the Liturgy of St. Mark,§ and were no doubt accompanied by the same act of fraction. No verbal formula is prescribed in the Liturgy of St. James, nor, it would seem, in the Coptic rite, but the priest selects "from among several loaves which are presented to him by the deacon;"|| and it is remarkable that the Copts and Ethiopians stamp their oblates in a manner strikingly similar to that which has been described as in use in the Greek Church.¶

The fact that a ceremonial answering to the Prothesis of the Greek Liturgies was not confined to the churches of the East, has been pointed out, with an almost exhaustive wealth of illustration, by Dr. Wickham Legg, in a paper recently published in the *Transactions* of the St. Paul's Ecclesiastical Society. Perhaps the most striking among the instances in point is that which is afforded by the liturgical tract appended to the Stowe Missal, and of which a slightly different recension is given in the *Lebar Breec*. Here the mingling of the chalice, accompanied by a short prayer, and the placing of the host upon the altar, are explicitly mentioned as taking place some little time before

* *Liturgia Armena* (Venice, 1854), pp. 29-31.

† Hammond, p. 139 (but not in Ed. Venet).

‡ Hammond, p. 58.

§ Swainson, p. 2. Not however in the Rossano Codex.

|| *Coptic Morning Service*, p. 38.

¶ Daniel iv. 386. Each host is marked with thirteen crosses. The central one, which is larger than the rest, and enclosed in a square like the Byzantine *σφραγίς*, represents our Lord; the others the twelve Apostles.

the introit. Another point of contact between Western and Eastern Liturgies is afforded by the minute ordinances found alike in the Stowe Tract and in the Mozarabic Missal concerning the number of parts into which the host is to be broken (in this case, however, *after consecration*), and by the symbolical interpretation of the several particles or modes of fraction.*

There is a curious ordinance in the first of the *Ordines Romani*, first brought to light by Mabillon, on which it is just possible—though we do not venture to affirm it with confidence—that the ceremonial of the prothesis may be found to throw some light. It is there mentioned that, as the Pontiff entered the sanctuary, two acolyths met him with boxes (*capsae*) containing the “*sancta*,” and that the Pope, making his reverence to the *sancta*, looked to see if there were more hosts than were needed, and if so directed that a portion be replaced in the *conditorium*. Now, Mabillon and others, down to M. Duchesne in our own day, have understood the *sancta* here mentioned to be *consecrated Hosts*, which were to be placed upon the altar with the *unconsecrated oblates*, thus maintaining a sort of continuity from one Mass to another. But if it is borne in mind that the oblates in the Byzantine prothesis are called *τὰ ἄγια*—i.e., *sanctu* (e.g., by Codinus *de Off.* p. 93, and by others *passim*), the conjecture is forced upon us that the *sancta* of the Roman *Ordinal* may have been *unconsecrated oblates*, and that it may have been either a rudimentary survival of an original service of prothesis, or else the undeveloped germ out of which the prophetic ritual in the Eastern Liturgies had grown.

(4) The ceremony concludes, in the Byzantine rite, with the “prayer of the prothesis” and the incensation of the gifts. This prayer may probably be regarded as the nucleus to which all the other verbal formulæ used in this service have attached

* *Missale Mozarabicum* (P. L. lxxxv.). “There are seven kinds of fraction; that is to say, five parts of the common Host [i.e., in the daily Mass]; seven of the Host of Saints and Virgins [i.e., on their festivals]; eight of the Host of Martyrs; nine of the Host of Sunday; eleven of the Host of Apostles, in figure of the imperfect number of the Apostles after the scandal of Judas,” &c. (Mac Carthy, “The Stowe Missal” in the *Transactions of the R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 251 *sqq.* We have slightly abridged the passage.) Dr. Mac Carthy’s translation of the Stowe Tract and of that in the Lebar Brecc should be regarded as having superseded Dr. Whitley Stokes’s version in Kuhn’s *Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachforschung*. Berlin, 1882.

themselves. In St. James a prayer with this title is found only in a single MS., and consists merely of a short doxology.* In St. Basil the prophetic prayer contains a threefold petition, that God would bless the gifts and receive them upon His heavenly altar ; that He would graciously remember those who had offered them, and those by whose hands they are offered, and that he would preserve the celebrant and his assistants " blameless in the sacred ministry of the divine mysteries." The corresponding prayer in St. Mark and in the older recension of St. Chrysostom contains an explicit petition for the great act of transubstantiation.† We give it in the fuller Alexandrian form, which, as being substantially identical with a prayer in the Coptic rite, may be regarded as probably the more ancient.

Master and Lord Jesus Christ, Word co-eternal with the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit, great High Priest, who wert offered as an innocent Lamb for the life of the world, we pray and beseech Thee to show Thy face upon this bread and upon this chalice that they may be transmuted into Thy spotless Body and precious Blood (*εἰς μεταποίησιν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος κτλ.*), wherein Thou art welcomed on the holy table, with priestly psalmody, by angelic company standing round about, that Thou mayest receive our souls and bodies.

Before the prayer of Prothesis, however, the incense has been blessed, the *astericus*, and the veils, three in number, have been censed and placed over the *oblata* ; and immediately after the prayer the gifts themselves are censed, and the celebrant having given the dismissal (*τὴν ἀπόλυσιν*), and thus declared this part of the service closed, the deacon takes the thurible and censes the altar, the officiating priest and his ministers, and the entire Church.‡

* Cod. Par. 476, Swainson, p. 215. The Zante St. James lays it down that the preparation of the gifts (*ἡ προπαρασκευὴ*) may either be performed according to the Byzantine rite, or (which is more in accordance with primitive usage) without the accompaniment of any verbal formula, *μηδὲν ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ παρασκευάσοντος ταῦτα λεπέως* (p. 9).

† In the later St. Chrysostom (Cod. Coutts iii. 42, sæc. xi. ; and printed Edd.) the Basilian prophetic prayer is used instead.

‡ The *astericus* is a sort of framework of metal in the form of a Greek cross, the extremities of whose four arms are bent at right angles to the plane of the cross. Placed over the *oblata* with the extremities of the arms resting on the table it prevents the veils from touching the particles. The author of the *Comm. Lit.* says : *ἐπικαλύπτει τὸν οὐράνιον ἀνθράκα . ἔστι δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ κολλᾶσθαι τοὺς μαργαρῖτας ἐν τῷ δισκοκαλύμματι*, words which his Latin translator has strangely misunderstood. The *ἀνθράξ* and the *μαργαρῖτα* are of course the

We may here call attention to the circumstance, which seems to have been overlooked by Liturgical writers from Goar downwards, that in a Pontifical Mass the service of the Prothesis was performed not by the celebrating prelate, but by a deputy or assistant priest (ό δευτερέύων).* On this point the Byzantine liturgists are explicit and unanimous. From one to another, with merely verbal variations, they hand down the statement of the fact, accompanied by the traditional symbolic interpretation. The service of the Prothesis or preliminary offertory, they say, symbolises the time of the ministry of St. John the Baptist, while our Lord was as yet hidden, and the deputy celebrant represents the Precursor whom the Messiah sent before His face to prepare His way.†

The subject is, however, not quite free from obscurity. The old Latin translator of St. Basil's Liturgy clearly supposes the Bishop or Patriarch to be present in the Prothesis, and to take part in the Prothetic service.‡ And Simeon of Thessalonica describes the Pontiff as coming down to the narthex from his throne in the apse preparatory to the solemn Introit, of which we are presently to speak. On the other hand, the *'Αρχιερατικόν* or *Liber Pontificales Ecclesiae Graecae*, published by Habert in 1643 from sources which unfortunately he does not specify in detail, not less clearly implies that at least in more solemn functions the Pontiff did not enter the Church till after the conclusion of the preliminary service, having in the meanwhile

particles. The term *μαργαρίται* is used in this sense by Germanus, by Balsamon and others (Allat. p. 146, cf. Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Letoium*, *P. G.* xlv. 229); and its equivalent occurs in the Syriac "Nomocanon" of Barhebraeus (*Mai Script. Vet. x.* 2, 19).

* The *Commentarius Liturgicus* and Theodore of Ardida call attention to the fact that according to the normal usage of the "Great Church" (i.e., of Sta Sophia at Constantinople) the manual acts of the Prothesis were performed by a deacon, *ἐπενχορένου τοῦ λεπέων*.

† Δίδοται ὁ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λεπέων μέλλοντι ἀρχεσθαι τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας· οὗτος δὲ ὁ κ. σχηματίζει τὸν . . . καιρὸν τῆς Προδρομοῦ Ἰωάννου γεννήσεως . . . ὁ δὲ λεπέων ὁ τὴν ἔναρξιν τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ποιούμενος ἐκόντα φέρει τοῦ Προδρόμου κτλ. (*Comm. Lit.* n. 11; Germanus, l.c., 400 sq.) 'Ο δευτερέύων δε τῶν λεπέων ἐν τῇ προθέσει ἀπελθὼν κτλ. (*Sim. Thess. Dial.* c. 84). With the expression δίδοται ὁ καιρός may perhaps be connected the liturgical formula καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, which, however, occurs after the incensation (Swainson, p. 109, Εὐχολ. p. 41; the words are from Ps. cxviii. 126, LXX., as Mr. Brightman has kindly pointed out to us). The expressions "querunt ab Archiepiscopo praeceptum sonandi," and "Archiepiscopus præcipit de seunda," in Beroldus (*Muratori Antiqu. Ital.* iv. 869), may also be compared.

‡ "Patriarchæ . . . offeruntur in sacrario ab oblationariis mundatae et compositæ oblatæ," &c. Morel, *Liturgiae*, p. 31; Swainson, p. 151.

vested in the narthex. And Goar writes to the same effect.* And so, it would seem, the Greek liturgical writers are to be understood. Probably, however, there were divergences due to local usage or to the varying degrees of solemnity in particular functions.†

If now it be inquired what degree of antiquity can be claimed for the particular ceremonies and verbal formulæ which make up the service of the Prothesis, the question is one which does not admit of a simple answer. Not only in the Barberini MS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which dates from the eighth century, but also in the Coutts MS. of the eleventh, the Prothesis is represented only by a single prayer, the *εὐχὴ τῆς προθίστασις*. The fourth-century treatise, falsely ascribed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, makes no mention whatever of the Prothesis.‡ This, however, might well be because, as has been said, the Pontiff took no part therein, and because this preliminary service was regarded as not, strictly speaking, forming a part of the Liturgy. When the writer speaks of the bringing in of the veiled gifts at the commencement of the *Missa fidelium*, his words may be taken to imply that the Host and the chalice had previously been prepared, and it may be assumed that some form of words would be used in the preparation.§

The Messina roll of St. Mark, which is ascribed to the twelfth

* Si autem Pontifex sit aut Patriarcha qui celebret, non statim orantem altari se sistit quin prius in ferula sive Ecclesiae vestibulo pontificium assumptum ornatum et in humiliori throno ibidem collocato Antiphonorum (*sic*) posthac continuo decantandorum finem prestolatus sedeat." Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, p. 122. The *'Αρχιερατικόν* (pp. 2 *sqq.*) describes in some detail the erection of the Patriarch's throne *ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς πύλαις* ή *ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι* with seats for the concelebrant bishops on either hand, a symbolical design (in coloured chalks?) being described on the floor in front. "Tempore vero instantie secundas tenens sacerdotum uno cum diacono procedit ad propositionem" where the *προσκομιδὴ* is performed as above described.

† An obscure passage, which variant readings have rendered still more enigmatical, in Germanus (l. c. 407) and Theodore of Andida (l. c. 560) may perhaps be understood as implying some variety of liturgical usage on this point.

‡ The writer commences his account of the sacred mysteries with the incensation of the Church by the Pontiff (*de Eccl. Hier.*, c. iii. § 2); on which passage St. Maximus remarks in his scholia (P. G. iv. 136) that Dionysius is probably describing the ancient usage in the lesser churches (η τε τάξις αὐτη ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐποιηθεντο ἵστως ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαις). In the fully developed Byzantine rite the incensation was performed by the deputy celebrant.

§ Έγκεκαλυμμένος μὲν ὁ θεῖος δρός προτίθεται καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐλογίας ποτήριον (E. H. iii. 8). Here again, Maximus observes that since the writer's time there has been a change of usage (l. c. 144), viz. as regards the veiling of the chalice.

century by Dr. Swainson, is the earliest instance so far as we know of the occurrence of the words of Isaiah ("As a sheep to the slaughter," &c.), which at least in the later Byzantine rite were accompanied by the symbolical acts of stabbing with the sacred spear, and the like, while the acts themselves are first described in MSS. of the fourteenth century.* Hence the use of the *λόγχη* or spear is specified by Dr. Swainson as one of "the momentous additions" made to the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, "between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries."† In this, however, he is certainly mistaken. Even putting aside, as of doubtful date, the testimonies of the *Commentarius Liturgicus*, of the *Mystica Contemplatio*, and of Theodore of Andida, we find express mention of the spear and of its symbolical significance in the work of Theodore of Studium against the Iconoclasts, a treatise of unquestioned genuineness written in the ninth century.‡ This should be enough to warn us against basing a positive argument on the silence of Cox. Barb. or any other Liturgical MS., unless we are quite sure that it professes to tell us everything.

In the Liturgy of St. James the prayer of self-accusation which we have already quoted is followed by a "prayer of the Parastasis," the purport of which we have now to determine.§ Daniel and Dr. Neale indeed are confident that the nine prayers which stand at the commencement of this Liturgy are strung together in an impossible order, and that two of them at least are mere "doubles" originally intended to be used by way of alternative, and not in succession. And Mr. Hammond asserts that: "There is no order in these prayers, nor can they possibly have been all intended to be used on any one occasion."|| The

* So we are informed by Mr. Brightman, who has seen the MSS.

† P. xxxvi.

‡ Sophr. l. c. 3989; Germ. l. c. 398; Theod. And. l. c. p. 556; Sim. Thess. l.c. 263; Theod. Stud. *Ichronomachos*, l. c. 490 (*τὴν ιερατικὴν λόγχην ἀνθ' ἡς καὶ ἐν γῇ τὴν θεόσωμον πλευράν ἐνύγη*). All these writers speak of the prothoretic ritual as a sacrificial act by which Christ is figuratively and mystically immolated. (Herein lay some danger of a fanciful exaggeration.) In the detachment of the *σφραγῖς* from the oblate they find a symbol of the Incarnation and Birth of our Lord, the substance of whose Body was taken from that of the B.V.M. Hence also they liken the Prothesis to the cave or stable of Bethlehem, as well as (by reason of the "immolation") to Calvary.

§ The title is given only in Cod. Par. 2509 (Swainson, p. 217). But the prayer occurs in all three of Swainson's MSS. and in the Zante edition.

|| *Liturgia*, p. 25 (note): "Quis non videt talēm precūm farraginem nec parallelizari posse nec debere?" (Neale ap. Daniel, iv 88).

occurrence of these prayers in the same order in the only three MSS. which are known to us, to say nothing of their actual use at the present day, ought, one would think, to make any one hesitate before accepting this somewhat bold statement. It is not easy to ascertain with certainty the precise topographical arrangement; but from such indications as we have it would seem that the *assistantia* (*παράστασις*) is not that of the celebrant or deputy before the altar, but that of all the sacred ministers together before the "Royal" or "Beautiful" doors, which led from the narthex into the nave.* The prayer is in honour of the Blessed Trinity regarded as a source of heavenly light (*τῷ τριαδικῷ καὶ ἐναίῳ φωτὶ τῆς θεοτήτος*), and probably alludes to the lights which are to be used in the service.

We have already mentioned the incensation of the gifts, which in the Byzantine rite is followed by an incensation of the whole Church. Strictly speaking, however, the incensation of the Church, as following the *ἀπόλυσις* which concludes the prophetic service, should be regarded as belonging to a second portion of the preliminary ritual which is, or was, technically called the "*ἐναρξίς*" or "Commencement," and which embraces all that now follows down to the Introit.† The term does not, indeed, appear in the text of the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. Basil, or St. Chrysostom; but it is found in the margin of the old Latin translation of St. Chrysostom by Leo Tuscus,‡ and is very explicitly recognised in the MSS. of St. James. Its existence also seems to be implied in the expressions used by the Byzantine liturgists, who, however, use the term *ἐναρξίς* in a somewhat wider sense as including the Prothesis.§ Like the

* Possibly, however, the prayer was said in the Prothesis. The rubric in the Rossano Codex runs thus: *τοῦ κλήρου μέλλοντος τὴν προελευσιν ποιῆσαι, ὁ δάκονος ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ δὲ ἵερεὺς λέγει: Δόξα κτλ.* (Swainson, l. c.). The Zante edition directs that the prayer be said before the *ώραλα πύλη* (p. 9), but as the *ώ. π.* are in this recension confounded with the *ἄγιαι πύλαι*, not much importance can be attached to such directions.

† In the *Editio princeps* of Ducas (Swainson, pp. 108, 109) the incensation follows the prayer of Prothesis, and is followed by the initiative formula *καὶρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι*. But in the Roman edition of 1873 (pp. 40–42) both the incensation and the *καὶρὸς* are followed by the prayer of Prothesis, clearly an inversion of the older order.

‡ Swainson, p. 110. "Initium sanctæ Missæ." This rubric follows the incensation. Our justification for including the incensation in the *Enarxis* is the passage of pseudo-Dionysius already referred to.

§ *Ἔιερεὺς ὁ τὴν ἐναρξίν τῆς θείας λειουργίας ποιούμενος κτλ.* *Comm. Lit.*, n. 11, Germanus, l. c. 402, Theod. And. l. c. 556, &c.

Prothesis it was performed by the deputy celebrant. This part of the service is introduced in St. James by a “prayer of the incense at the entrance upon the Enarxis” ($\epsilon\bar{u}\chi\bar{n}\tau\bar{o}\bar{u}\theta\mu\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{s}\tau\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{n}\tau\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{p}\bar{\xi}\bar{e}\bar{w}\bar{e}\bar{s}$) by way of distinction from another censing prayer which belongs to the Introit proper ($\epsilon\bar{u}\chi\bar{n}\tau\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{n}\tau\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{\xi}\bar{e}\bar{w}\bar{e}\bar{s}$) of which we are presently to speak.* The distinction has been overlooked by Dr. Neale and Mr. Hammond, who find “no order” in the opening portion of the Liturgy of St. James, and it has been entirely obscured in the modern edition of that Liturgy.† In this prayer our Lord is somewhat strangely addressed as “the two-natured coal” ($\bar{o}\bar{\delta}\bar{i}\bar{f}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{\xi}$) wherewith the lips of the prophet were cleansed by the seraph, and is petitioned to cleanse the inward senses of the officiating priest and to render him a fitting minister of the sacred mysteries. In the close union of the element of fire (as then conceived) with the grosser substance of the coal, was seen a fitting symbol of the mystery of the hypostatic union. And this symbolism was supplemented by a full recognition of the typical relation between the burning coal laid on the prophet’s lips and the consecrated particles received in Holy Communion.†

In the Byzantine rite that portion of the Enarxis which follows the incensation consists of three antiphons, three prayers corresponding to the antiphons, and a thrice repeated deacon's litany consisting of petitions for peace and other blessings (hence called the *irenica*) to each of which petitions the people answer *Kyrie Eleison*. Of the manner in which the antiphons, the *irenica*, and the prayers are combined, it must be sufficient to say that the body of the prayer is recited by the priest in secret concurrently with the singing, only the termination (*ἐκφώνησις*) being recited aloud at the conclusion of the chant, like the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* before the Preface and the *Pater* in the Roman rite. The antiphons,

* Swainson, pp. 217-219. The *εἰσοδος τῆς ἐνάρξεως* is mentioned explicitly in Cod. Par. 2509, the *εὐχὴ τῆς ἐνάρξεως* in the same MS.; the *εἰσοδος τῆς συνάρξεως* in Codd. Ross., Par. 2509 and Par. 476.

[†] Zante St. James, pp. 10-12.

[‡] Compare the *Munda cor meum* in the Roman Mass. A different and very beautiful symbolism is suggested in one recension at least of the Coptic rite. "The censer of gold is the Virgin; the sweet cloud is our Saviour; she hath borne Him; He hath saved us; may He forgive us our sins" (*Coptic Mass Service*, p. 47).

but not the prayers, vary with the season or festival. Such at least has been the case since the sixteenth century, and probably since a much earlier time; but there can be little doubt that the original form of the antiphons is most nearly represented in the ferial Masses, when they consist of a few verses from the 91st, 92nd, and 94th Psalms respectively, a brief response being inserted after each verse, as in the *Inritatorium* of the Roman Office.* Dr. Pleithner has, we believe, been the first to point out that the Enarxis really represents the canonical hours of terce and sext, for which in earlier times this portion of the service was regarded as a substitute as often as the Liturgy was publicly solemnised. This discovery rests upon a somewhat obscure passage of Cassian, the meaning of which ought, however, to be henceforth clear. We give it in full, with a portion of Dr. Pleithner's note thereon, at the foot of the page.† We have here an interesting bond of connection between the Liturgies of the East and of the West. Precisely answering to the Enarxis (though without the incensation) is the choral recitation of Terce during the vesting of the Bishop in a Roman Pontifical Mass—a rite to which many curious analogies might, no doubt, be discovered by any one more familiar than we are with early liturgical documents. The Enarxis, it is true, no longer takes the place of Terce and Sext, these being now recited in addition to the Liturgy, but a trace of the older usage long survived in the fusion of these two offices into a single service called the *τριθέκτη*, and this very name *τριθέκτη* is still used to designate a portion of the Enarxis.‡

* That this is the original form of the antiphons is we think sufficiently established—(1) by the fact that no other form appears in the older text of the liturgy (see Leo T. in Swainson, p. 113); and (2) by the still more significant fact that the Byzantine liturgists comment on *these* Antiphons only, and not on the formulae which, according to present usage, are often substituted for them.

† "Verum ne hoc quidem ignorandum, die dominico unam tantummodo missam (*i.e.*, assembly in choir) ante prandium celebrari, in qua psalmorum atque orationum seu lectionum pro ipsis collectae vel communionis dominicæ reverentia solemnius aliquid ac propensius impendentes, in ipsa *Tertium Servitumque pariter consummatam reputant*" (de Cœnobiorum Institutione, lib. iii. c. 11; *P.L.* xlii. 149). "Diese Angaben sind zwar nicht vollständig deutlich, aber lassen doch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit darauf schliessen, dass diese sonntägliche feierliche Gebetsversammlung mit der sogenannten *Vormesse*, welche um die dritte Stunde gefeiert wurde, identisch gewesen sei." (Pleithner, *Älteste Geschichte des Breiergebetes*; Kempten, 1887, p. 256).

‡ The *τριθέκτη* is mentioned by Const. Porph. *Car.* pp. 155-6, and by Codius de *Off.* p. 45 (*ψάλλονται οὖν αἱ ὄψαι ὡς ἔθος, ἡ τε πρώτη, ἡ τριθέκτη, καὶ ἡ*

Whether the Liturgy of St. Mark originally possessed an Enarxis is open to question. In St. James, if we might trust the MSS. and the modern usage, the Enarxis would seem to be represented by no more than a single prayer, in addition to the "prayer of the incense" of which we have already spoken. We strongly suspect, however, that here as elsewhere the MSS. do not tell us everything, and that the εὐχή τῆς ἐνάρξεως is nothing more than the prayer to be recited by the celebrant or his deputy *at the conclusion of the choral service*, concerning which the MS. *more suo* is silent. This view of the matter receives some confirmation from the circumstance that in like manner the earlier MSS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are entirely silent as to the antiphons and the *irenica*, the very existence of the antiphons being merely inferred from the titles of the prayers (εὐχὴ ἀνπιφῶνος ἀ, β', γ').

The Introit (*εἰσοδος*) here follows in St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. In St. James it is preceded by a second prayer of incense, and by a blessing of the deacon, of which, however, there is no need to speak more particularly here.* The Introit is a portion of the service, the original import of which appears to have been strangely overlooked by modern Liturgiologists. Renaudot, Goar, Daniel, and Mr. Hammond alike speak of it as "the lesser Entrance" or "Entrance of the Gospel"—*i.e.*, a procession in which the Book of the Gospel, which has hitherto lain upon the altar, is carried in procession through the Church (down the north aisle and up the centre)

ἐννάτη), and as a single antiphon in *Lit. Chrys.*, Swainson, pp. 113, 114 (*τὸ τρίτον ἀντιφωνον ἢ τὴν τριτέκτην*). "The Liturgy is joined with the offices of the third and sixth hours and should regularly begin as soon as they are finished, but on account of the length of the services the present practice in the Russian Church [this was a century ago, but a friend tells me the usage still prevails] is for the priest to go into the Prothesis and perform the office while the hours are said in the Church. And when the Liturgy is performed by a Bishop, who has the distinction of putting on his vestments in the middle of the Church [anciently in the narthex], he does it at the same time. Thus, there are as it were three different services going forward at once" (*King, Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*: London, 1772, p. 135). Illustrations of the close connection between the morning office and the Liturgy, may, we think, be found in the *Peregrinatio Silvæ* and in *Mabillon Vetera Analecta*, pp. 151, 152.

* 'H εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιάματος τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συνάξεως. So Cod. Ross and Par. 2509, 476 in Swainson, pp. 218, 219. The Zante St. James (p. 12) has substituted ἐνάρξεως for συνάξεως here (!); one of several indications that its distinguished editor has not rightly apprehended a distinction which is made so plain in the old MSS.

with lights and incense.* And it must be admitted that such is the character and title which it bears not only in the later MSS. and in the printed editions of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, and in the modern recension of St. James, but even in the Roman Codex (sæc. x.) of St. Mark.† Nevertheless, there is, we think, no room at all for doubt that the earliest form of the εἰσοδος was not a mere procession, but an Introit proper, the entrance of the Pontifical celebrant into the Church, the deputy-celebrant and the assistant ministers who have been engaged in the Prothesis and Enarxis coming down to the royal gates, with incense, lights, and the book of the Gospels, to meet him. And with him the congregation, who had hitherto waited in the narthex, also entered the body of the Church for the first time. It would not indeed be safe to lay too much stress on the title εἰσοδος, which stands without qualification in the Barberini and Coutts MSS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.‡ But suspicion might well have been aroused by the circumstance that in none of the Liturgies has the "prayer of the Introit" any special reference to the Gospel, and by the still more significant fact that in the Liturgy of the Presanctified it is directed that the "entrance" be made *without the Gospel* ;§ a strange rubric if the very *raison d'être* of the ceremony had been a mere carrying of the Book of the Gospels in solemn procession. Still this is, after all, merely negative evidence. But very positive testimony is supplied in the first place by the Liturgy of St. James, in which all three of Dr. Swainson's MSS. explicitly call it an εἰσοδος τῆς συνάξεως ("entrance of the congregation"), and in which two of them prescribe that the "prayer of the entrance" be recited as the celebrant and the clergy proceed *from the doors of the Church* to the altar or sanctuary.|| The matter is made still more clear by a rubric in one of Goar's MSS. of St. Basil. "Then the Pontiff rises from the throne on which he had been sitting in the lower portion of the Church"—i.e., as we learn from the

* Goar, pp. 124, 131.

† Swainson, pp. 12, 114, 152; Zante St. James, p. 13 (ἡ εἰσοδος τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν).

‡ Swainson, pp. 76, 88, 114, 153.

§ Εἰσοδος ἀνευ Εὐαγγελίου (Εὐχολόγιον, Rome, 1873, p. 113).

|| Εὐχὴ ἡ ποιεῖ ὁ λειτουργὸς κατὰ τὴν προέλευσιν τοῦ κλήρου ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔως τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Cod. Par. 476. Cod. Ross. om. τοῦ κλήρου (Swainson, pp. 220, 221).

Greek Pontifical, in the narthex.* But the question is settled beyond the possibility of dispute by the early Liturgical writers to whom reference has already been made. Their testimony is explicit. The Entrance or Introit is the entrance not of the Gospel but of the Pontiff. As the deputy-celebrant represented the Precursor, so the entrance of the Bishop or Patriarch represents the coming of Christ our Lord in person. The deputy and his assistant clergy go forth to meet him with lights and incense, and bearing the Book of the Gospels; as he enters the chant *ὁ μονογένης* (Unigenitus) is sung, and the assistant priest gives place, remembering the words of the Baptist whom he represents: *Illum oportet crescere me autem minui*; “it is for Him to wax great, but for me to grow less.”† In the absence of the Patriarch or Bishop, and in the less solemn rite in which a single priest performed the double part of deputy and celebrant, the procession of the Gospel out of the north door of the sanctuary, down the north aisle, and back through the nave and the holy doors (or possibly as far as the narthex and back through the *royal doors*), remained as a survival of the original, fuller, and more significant ceremony. After this explanation it is hardly necessary to insist on the suitableness to the occasion of the hymn Unigenitus (*ὁ μονογενῆς*) the introduction of which is attributed by St. Maximus and others to the Emperor Justinian. It is now sung after the second antiphon. We have mentioned the entrance of the congregation together with or rather in the train of the Pontiff as implied by the expression *εἰσοδος τῆς συνάξεως* occurring in the Liturgy of St. James. But here again the Byzantine liturgists supplement the rubric by their more explicit statements that the congregation did enter the Church at this time.‡

The “prayer of the Introit” in St. James speaks of the “entrance into the Holy of Holies” (Heb. x. 19) which Christ has laid open to us; that of St. Mark is nearly identical with the “Prayer of Absolution to the Son” of the Coptic Liturgies, and answers to our Absolution after the Confiteor; St. Basil

* Swainson, p. 153, Habert, p. 1.

† *Comm. Lit.*, p. 13; Maximus, *Mystag.* c. 9; Germanus, Theod. And., &c.

‡ Νάρφηξ ἔστι διὸ τὸ ἐστάναι τὸν λαὸν ἔξω ἐν τῷ τοῦ θυμιάματος ὥρᾳ—i.e., during the Enarxis (*Comm. Lit.* n. 5). Τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ σὺν τῷ ιεράρχει εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰσόδου κτλ. (Maximus, c. ix.) ‘Ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ὑμνῶν ἴσταμεθα ἔξωθεν . . . καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν πολλάκις οἱ μετανοοῦντες εἰσοῦν . . . ἀντιγομένων δε τῶν πνηλῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ὑμνούσους ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰσερχομεθα κτλ (Sim. Thess. Dial. c. 155).

asks that Angels and Archangels may enter with the celebrant to take part in the sacred mysteries ($\sigmaυλλειτουργοῦντες καὶ σινδοξολογοῦντες τὴν ἀγαθότητα$), and with this St. Chrysostom's is identical.*

The *Trisagion*, or threefold chant, "Agios o theos, Agios ischyros, Agies athanatos," which now follows, is familiar to us from its use in the Roman Liturgy on Good Friday. While it is being sung the celebrant recites in secret the "prayer of the Trisagion" which is entirely different in the four Liturgies. In St. James it is petition for deliverance from sin that we may worthily join in the holy chant; in St. Basil a prayer that our hymn of praise may be acceptable, unworthy as we are; in St. Chrysostom we find an expansion of the Trisagion itself by way of paraphrase; while St. Mark's prayer has relation rather to the Gospel than to the invocation of the thrice Holy.

The Introit is concluded by the prayer, or blessing, of the throne ($\tauῆς ἄνω καθέδρας$), pronounced by the Pontiff before he takes his seat. This prayer, however, is not found in St. James or St. Mark. St. James here has the Irenicon (called in this Liturgy the Greek *Synapte*); herein preserving the order of the primitive ritual.

Of the lessons and their accompaniments we had intended to speak no less fully than of the Prothesis, the Enarxis, and the Introit; but the length to which this paper has run warns us that we must be content to pass over in silence a portion of the Liturgy concerning which after all we should have nothing of any value to add to what has often been said before.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

* We give a portion of the prayer as it stands in St. Mark. "Master, Lord our God, Thou who didst elect the twelve-lighted lamp of the twelve Apostles [in allusion to the twelve candles of which the liturgists speak] and didst send them into the whole world, to preach and to teach the Gospel of thy Kingdom, . . . and didst breathe into their faces, and didst say to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete; Whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven unto them and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained; thus do Thou also upon us Thy servants," &c. (Neale's Tr., with a slight verbal change).

ART. III.—MEMOIRS OF CARDINAL MASSAJA.

I Miei Trentacinque Anni di Missione nell' Alta Etiopia.
Memorie storiche di Fra Guglielmo Massaja, Cappuccino,
Cardinale del Titolo di San Vitale, Roma. Milano.
 1885. Published serially in volumes.

IN the last days of August 1889 there passed away in an obscure cell of the Capuchin Convent of Frascati, one of those men on whom nature had impressed the stamp and seal of greatness. The gift of mental pre-potency, possessed by him in a high degree, is indeed the sum and quintessence of many others, and confers that pre-eminence of moral stature which we characterise by that epithet. Exercised by Cardinal Massaja only in the humble field of missionary labour among barbarous tribes, it would equally have secured for him the leadership of his fellows in any sphere of worldly ambition. But a nobler vocation called him to consecrate his conspicuous abilities to the highest of all uses, and to spend his power of subjugating the minds of others in the loftiest of human strivings, the enforcement of spiritual truth.

Born at Piovà, in the diocese of Asti, in 1809, Guglielmo Massaja early chose to enter the service of religion as a Capuchin Friar. He occupied the post of reader of theology to the Convent of Monte Torino, when at twenty-seven years of age his superiors selected him for the arduous task of breaking ground for the harvest of Christianity in a new field. The initial impulse towards this enterprise came from the zeal of a lay traveller, who may be called the pioneer of the Gospel in the regions through which he passed. To a letter addressed to the Propaganda by M. Antoine d'Abbadie, from Quarata, in Abyssinia, in 1845, was due the action of that body in sending, as he had strongly urged, a Catholic mission to Ethiopia. Nor was this the only service rendered by him to religion in those countries, for the example of his life, and the impression made by his virtues were such as to prepare the way before it, and to make him the precursor and herald of the truth. The precepts inculcated by him bore

fruit in some instances many years after, when the white men who followed in his track were everywhere received as friends in his name. We need not refer here to the scientific results of the journey undertaken by him, in company with his brother Arnold, in 1838, since they have been long known to the world. But its religious bearing was twofold, since the existing Lazarist Mission in Abyssinia also owes its inception to the fact that a young monk of that order was taken as their travelling companion by the brothers Abbadie.

Separate from it, though closely connected with it in origin and history, was the Vicariate Apostolic of the Gallas, wild tribes of southern Ethiopia, created in 1846, and confided to the charge of Fra Guglielmo Massaja. Consecrated bishop of the titular see of Cassia *in partibus*, he started immediately for the scene of his labours, taking as his companions Fathers Giusto da Urbino, Felicissimo da Cortemilia, Cesare da Castelfranco, and the lay-brother, Fra Pasquale da Duno. Following the route by Cairo and Suez down the Red Sea to Massowah, where they were received by Mgr. de Jacobis, Prefect of the Lazarist Mission, they were met by difficulties at the outset, as a civil war then raging in Abyssinia between Ras Aly, its chief ruler, and the prince of the border province of Tigre, compelled them to make a protracted stay in Guala, a station near its frontier. The vicissitudes of life in those countries were brought home to them by a raid of the enemy compelling them to take refuge in a mountain cavern to which they were hauled up in baskets, and where Mgr. Massaja conferred ordination on some native priests, converted with their flocks to Catholicity.

Their detention in Guala was diversified by a visit from M. d'Abbadie, when the restoration of peace in June, 1847, rendered locomotion possible. Communications were again cut off shortly after, as they annually are, by the arrival of the rainy season, and a still more formidable obstacle to the advance of the mission was next interposed by ecclesiastical jealousy, aroused by the superscription in Arabic, of a letter to its head. Addressed to him as "Abouna," the title assumed by the Metropolitan of Abyssinia, it fell into the hands of that dignitary, who was by no means disposed to brook a rival in his see. His position rendered him a dangerous

his character an unscrupulous enemy, and to his undying hostility the persecutions subsequently endured by Mgr. Massaja were due.

A foreigner to Abyssinia, as custom requires the head of its Church to be, the reigning Abouna furnished in his own person an illustration of the evils of the system of patronage resulting from this state of things. His humble origin, as the son of a slave-broker in Cairo, threw him early upon his wits for advancement in life, and though baptised in the Coptic Church by the name of Andrew, he exchanged his early faith for that of Anglican Protestantism, when adopted as a *protégé* by the English missionaries. From them he received an education in the colleges of Malta and Cairo, but at fourteen was sent by his parents to be weaned from his new creed in the monastery of St. Anthony in the Thebaid. Expelled at eighteen for a plot against the life of the superior, he was again taken up by his Protestant patrons, and by them run as candidate for the then vacant Metropolitan see of Abyssinia. A bribe of 3000 scudi to the Patriarch of Alexandria secured his success, and the unfrocked monk, not yet twenty, presumptuously assumed the name borne by St. Frumentius, but since disused through reverence, and succeeded as Salama II. From 1839 to 1867 he ruled the Abyssinian Church with such scandalous abuse of his position as might have been expected from the turbid record of his previous career. The solemn rite of ordination was reduced by him to a sacrilegious farce, celebrated in private houses or in still more summary fashion by the roadside. On one occasion, when the breviary was opened by chance at the marriage service, he declared it would do as well, and read the formula of the latter over the candidates for Holy Orders. His treatment of his penitents was exemplified in the case of an old woman who ingenuously expressed her pleasure at meeting the Catholic missionaries, as she had just come to the end of a term of seven years for which the Abouna had absolved her in anticipation, and naturally desired a renewal of her charter of impeccability. This high priest of heresy, after exercising considerable political influence during the early years of Theodore's reign, fell into disgrace for a personal offence against the monarch towards its close, and died in captivity,

it was supposed from poison, in the royal fortress of Magdala, in 1867.

The decree of exile from Tigre, which now stopped Mgr. Massaja on the very threshold of his mission, was the earnest of the lifelong animosity of his rival. It compelled him to retreat, in the first instance, to Massowah, not always a safe haven of refuge, for among the picturesque incidents of his career was his consecration of Mgr. de Jacobis, head of the Lazarist Mission, in a hut guarded by soldiers at dead of night, followed by the flight of both prelates by sea immediately afterwards, from a threatened raid of the wild guerillas of the border.

The heroic bishop, nothing daunted by obstacles, next started to traverse Abyssinia incognito, taking with him the lay-brother, Fra Pasquale, and furnished with letters from Ubie, Prince of Tigre, who was in his confidence. Their way led by precipitous paths through a country of savage abundance—where eighteen sheep were sold for a scudo, and five colossal pots of butter, or three of honey, for a like sum—to the fortress sanctuary of Tedba Mariam, situated on a basaltic platform girt by perpendicular walls of rock two miles in circumference. A sacred stone and book of unknown antiquity are the principal objects of veneration in this holy place, where the sacerdotal caste numbered some hundreds out of a total population of 1000.

Reinforced by another priest, Father Stella, the missionary party proceeded through Gojam to the camp of Ras Aly, then the principal ruler of Abyssinia. The last stage of their journey thither was accomplished under the escort of 600 soldiers, who, living at free quarters on the inhabitants, left famine in their rear. In one village, however, to their surprise they were hailed with joy as deliverers from a still more dreaded scourge, an unknown and ferocious beast, which made its daily meal on one of the inhabitants. When duly hunted and slain, it proved to be a leopard, an animal which, according to our author, becomes as inveterate a man-eater as the Bengal tiger, when once it has tasted human flesh. The camp of Ras Aly being reached, that potentate gave the missionaries a hospitable reception, but they were warned against irritating his self-love by representing any European prince as more

powerful than himself. Mgr. Massaja also received a kindly warning that he would probably be requested to resuscitate a friend of his host who had recently died, the possession of this power being in his belief one of the privileges enjoyed by bishops.

It was, however, the temporal rather than the spiritual influence of his guest that Ras Aly was anxious to invoke, as he proposed to him to enlist the intervention of the Emperor of the French to procure the despatch of a Latin Patriarch to Abyssinia, instead of the Coptic Abouna, whose rule practically enslaved them to Egypt. On receipt of an unfavourable answer from the King of Shoa to a request for permission to pass through his dominions, Mgr. Massaja undertook this negotiation, and returning to Europe laid the matter before Louis Napoleon without any result. In interviews with Lord Palmerston and other English statesmen he secured the grant of a government subsidy to the mission of Aden, and having transacted these and other affairs set his face eastward once more. He met in his travels M. Arnold d'Abbadie, who undertook to carry a letter for him to his persecutor Abba Salama, assuring him of his friendly dispositions, while remonstrating against some of the abuses of the Abyssinian Church, especially the profanation of the ceremony of ordination. The Abouna's rejoinder was a singular one. "The Abyssinians," he said, "not being men but monkeys, it was not well to give them the true orders." His answer to his Latin *confrère*, though thus friendly in tone, indicated no real change in his persistent attitude of hostility towards him.

As the Bishop's ecclesiastical character was thus an insuperable obstacle to reaching his vicariate, he came to the bold resolution of running the blockade of the frontier in disguise. Assuming the name of Giorgio Bartorelli, and the character of an Italian trader, he took the way of the Nile to Sennaar, while allowing it to be believed that he was about to follow once more that by Massowah. Having succeeded in obtaining a recommendation from the Patriarch of Alexandria to all the Coptic clergy and authorities, he gained admittance in the first instance into the monastery of St. Anthony in the desert, in order to contrive the release of a young Catholic who had been decoyed thither, and compelled to assume the habit of a

monk. His medical knowledge made him a welcome inmate during three months spent here as a guest, and enabled him to effect his purpose on his departure. With the promise (faithfully performed) of sending back some much desired remedy, he was allowed to leave in company with his *protégé*, who succeeded in effecting his escape, and eventually became parish priest of the Catholic Copts of Mansourah.

Following the ordinary route to the Soudan, the disguised missionary noted, in starting for Abu Hamed from Korosko, an instance of intelligence in that much-maligned animal the camel. One of those forming the caravan, on perceiving that it was being driven on the desert route, refused to start, and it was then found that it had not received the usual signal when drinking, indicating the necessity for an extra supply being taken in. After being led back to the well and allowed to supply the deficiency, it started cheerfully on its journey.

A breakdown in the assumption of his part nearly cost the Bishop his life, when in the market-place of Laka in Sennaar his ignorance of the prices of his wares betrayed him to the Mussulmans as an impostor. Assailed and beaten by the mob, his refusal to pronounce the formula of Islam had nearly gained him the crown of martyrdom, when he was rescued by the intervention of two soldiers of Prince Kassai, afterwards King Theodore of Abyssinia.

The worst perils of his journey were over, when on September 23, 1852, he reached the borders of Galla-land, though still divided from it by the Abbai, or Upper Nile, at that season impassable after the rains. During the two months of his enforced sojourn here he was hospitably entertained by the local chieftain, Workie-Jasù, a doubly influential protector, as he was of mixed Galla and Abyssinian blood, owning possessions on the banks of the stream, and practising alternately the religions of both races, Paganism and nominal Christianity. It was not until November 21 that the autumn freshet had sufficiently subsided to admit the river being crossed by swimming, and on that day Mgr. Massaja, setting foot on the further shore, took possession of his Vicariate, after six years' wandering in the attempt to reach it. Much to the astonishment of the five young neophytes who accom-

panied him, he now exchanged his merchant's apparel for that of an Abyssinian monk, and appeared in his true character as the renowned Abba Messias, the native synonym for Massaja.

The recommendation of his late host secured him a welcome from Gama-Moras, the chief in whose territory he now found himself, and he was immediately endowed with land for the construction of a little chapel and the other necessary erections. A man of considerable astuteness and grasp of intellect, this barbarian ruler was capable of appreciating the more lofty standard of morality presented by Catholic teaching, and partly on this ground, and partly from the wish to secure its influence in carrying out certain ambitious designs of his own, he forwarded to the utmost of his power the interests of the mission. The latter thus secured a firm basis in the country, and from Asàndabo where it was established, a commercial centre, with a normal population of 1000, increased a hundred-fold on the occasions of fairs and markets, was able to extend its influence in different directions. This section of Galla-land is called Gudru, from the name of its first Galla conqueror, and is ruled by the Torba Gudru, a council of seven, representing the families descended from his seven sons. The mission was strengthened soon after its establishment by the arrival from Massowah of Fathers Felicissimo and Hadjlu Michael, an Abyssinian priest. It now consisted of four priests and a number of young neophytes, and formed with the huts of the *personnel* attached to it a distinct quarter of Asàndabo. At Whitsuntide, 1853, twelve converts, among them the eldest son of the chief, were baptised together. The occasion was solemnised with the celebration of High Mass, but much ingenuity was required to supply the episcopal vestments and insignia, left behind at the coast. A piece of skin, stiffened with starch, and covered with red cloth, furnished the material for a mitre, and a cane surmounted by a cross was the substitute for a pastoral staff.

While Abyssinia was at this time desolated by the civil wars which resulted in placing Theodore on the throne, Gojam, having successfully resisted his invasion, formed a bulwark behind which Galla-land enjoyed immunity from his raids, a circumstance which in no small degree furthered the

progress of the mission. The Catholic priests enjoyed the veneration of all classes, but the practice of polygamy among the upper ranks was a great obstacle to conversion.

The transference of the widows of a deceased chief to his next-of-kin was exemplified on the death of the brother of Gama-Moras, when the latter went through the strange ceremony of the *racco*, or Galla marriage, with the two relicts. A cow being fastened to the door of each bride's dwelling, the bridegroom in presence of the assembled magnates cut its throat, and aspersed with its blood the spectators and the hut, murmuring as he did so some superstitious formula. Then entering the house, where the bride was solemnly anointed, he led her forth, and publicly proclaimed her his wife.

The neighbouring King of Enàrea, Abba Baghibo by name, sent a pressing invitation to the missionaries to visit his country, as he much desired to receive the friends of M. d'Abbadie. That gentleman, during his stay in his dominions, had received a special mark of his confidence in being selected to bring home his bride, the daughter the King of Kaffa. An obstacle was interposed to their acceptance of the invitation by the necessity of passing through the intervening country of Gemma, where a blood feud was held to exist with all Europeans, since the English consul Plowden had slain one of their soldiers in battle ten years before, and paid the penalty of the offence with his own life.

A preliminary negotiation was therefore undertaken through Abba Baghibo, to whom a caravan was despatched with letters and presents. Though robbed of the latter on the way, it was no less graciously received, and with the returning messengers were sent four asses laden with coffee, butter, honey, stuffs, and artistic objects of native manufacture. A still more precious gift was that of two little slave boys, who, instructed and baptised by the missionaries, were later on ordained priests, known as Abba Luca and Abba Matteo. In the accompanying letter to Gama-Moras, Abba Baghibo bade him make known to all Gudru that the blood of the white men was his blood, warning whomsoever should touch a hair of their heads never to show his face in Enàrea, a formidable penalty, since the population lived by traffic with that country. To Mgr. Massaja he addressed a cordial invitation, panegyrising M.

d'Abbadie in the highest terms, and expressing his impatience to see the brothers of that incomparable white man.

I thank you [he said] for the presents sent to me, and bid you not grieve if they did not reach me, because I consider them as received. When you come, do not think of presents, for your persons will be the most precious gift you can bestow on me or on my country. Accept meantime the little I offer you, and when you want slaves, butter, or anything else, I will send you as much as you wish. For your journey I have given all the orders, and you may rest assured that no evil will befall you on the road. I have, however, written to Gama Moras to have you taken round the frontiers of Gemma Nunnu, because the stain of blood being there, you might incur some danger. But Gama, who knows our people, will not fail to take all measures necessary for your safety.

These letters were written in a corrupt Arabic, the Galla tongue not having at that time been reduced to writing. The arduous task of doing so occupied Mgr. Massaja's leisure, when on the departure for Enàrea on November 3 of Fathers Cesare and Felicissimo, he was left behind in Asàndabo, since Gama Moras would not sanction his departure thence. As the Galla language did not lend itself to transliteration in the Arabic characters, he reduced its sounds to the Latin alphabet, and thus enabled it be written for the first time.

At this period, too, he busied himself with preparations for a colossal banquet which it was found advisable to give, as a means of conciliating native opinion, on which the mission naturally depended for success. The most essential preliminary was the brewing of *bouza* and *tedge*, beer and hydro-mel, on a vast scale, these being the indispensable accompaniments of all festivities. The first is a thick and nauseous compound, made of hard-baked bread broken up in water and fermented with malt, the supply being extended by successive dilutions of the dregs as the feast progresses. The second is a decoction of honey and water in varying proportions according to the body desired, slightly fermented and flavoured with the aromatic leaves of certain shrubs. Large piles of bread were then made from the flour of *teff*, a species of millet, the dough in a semi-fluid state being baked into large flexible sheets. These form the only substitute for plates, napkins, and table service generally, as the viands are conveyed to the mouth wrapped in their folds, after a preliminary dip in the fiery sauces of capsicums or chilies, so dear to the Abyssinian

palate. Beer served in horns or glasses is the preliminary to a course of boiled beef, with its broth, thickened with bean flour and highly seasoned. Then comes *brondo*, or raw meat, the chief delicacy of an Ethiopian banquet, the great slices reeking with pepper sauce in which it is served, being seized in the teeth and cut off close to the mouth. Hydromel accompanies this course, and the next consists of the remains of the meat toasted by the guests themselves at the central fire. After-dinner speeches are made, as with us, when they resume their places, eloquence being doubtless aided by the heady beverages swallowed. At the missionary banquet, five hundred guests were entertained in this fashion during four consecutive days, each social grade receiving due precedence. So great is the Galla rage for raw flesh, that a party of men will sometimes retire to a sequestered hut with one or more oxen, and there remain secluded until they are all devoured, etiquette strictly prohibiting the interruption of the orgy by outsiders.

A misfortune which now befell the mission in an outbreak of small-pox in its precincts, was the means of saving hundreds of thousands from the disease, as it enabled Mgr. Massaja to obtain matter for inoculation, which he thenceforward practised on a prodigious scale. The vaccine brought from Europe had proved inoperative, apparently from climatic causes, so that the artificially induced malady itself was the only available prophylactic.

The record of the Bishop's subsequent travels consists frequently of an enumeration of his labours in operating on the crowds that everywhere flocked to meet him, as the fame of his powers in warding off the most dreaded scourge of the country spread abroad through all its length and breadth. Gama Moras and his family were among the first to try the remedy, with the exception of a young son of the chief who had been sent away to be out of reach of the epidemic, and thus losing the opportunity of inoculation, died of it eighteen years later. The consideration previously accorded to Mgr. Massaja for his virtues was thenceforward enhanced by a reputation for supernatural powers, to which of course the success of his "medicine" was ascribed. He made the curious remark that the fresh cases of the disease invariably declared themselves at full or new moon, and that an interval

of fourteen days thus elapsed between the successive outbreaks in a household.

The missionaries sent to Abba Baghibo had, meantime, experienced a most cordial reception from that potentate, who declared that had they come twenty-five years earlier he would himself have joined their communion, a change for which he said it was now too late. A further extension of the missionary field to the kingdom of Kaffa necessitated the ordination of two native youths, as the supply of priests was quite inadequate to the demand. One of Mgr. Massaja's original companions had been diverted from his vocation by the fascination which the study of Amharic exercised over him, and absolutely refused to quit Abyssinia in consequence. This inconstancy to his primary calling cost him his life, for expelled from the country of his predilection a little later, he died of fever at Khartoum, when full of repentance he was striving to return to his appointed field.

A new station was established by Mgr. Massaja in 1855, at a place called Lagàmara, from "laga," river, and "amara," Christian. His journey thither resembled a triumphal progress, all classes vying with each other in trying to do him honour, and many striking incidents occurred on the way. It was in this region that he came upon the track of M. d'Abbadie, remembered among the people as "the white monk." Among the most fervent converts was a youth named M'vielu, who had, as a child, received baptism when apparently at the point of death, at the hands of the eminent French traveller. The incident was recounted by him as follows:

I was little, and had not yet lost my first teeth, when I fell ill, and was at the point of death, then he poured water on my head, reciting a prayer. I felt a happiness never experienced before, and almost immediately recovered. He taught me many things, and amongst others a prayer to say every day to the *a jana* (image of Our Lady) which he had, and which he often showed me and made me kiss. He advised me not to imitate my companions in actions that would offend the *a jana*. The last piece of advice he gave me before leaving was this. When you are grown to marry but one wife, for that is God's wish. After his departure, I died for eight days, and his words have remained impressed on my memory as if I had heard them only yesterday. Whenever my companions tried to make me do as Abba Dia had forbidden me, I seemed to see him looking fixedly at me in displeasure, then I recited the prayer to the *a jana*, and the image of Abba Dia smiled on me again. Now I am

grown up, and as I have been faithful to his counsels to this day (at least as far as I could) I wish to be so for the future, especially in regard to the last admonition he gave me.

His subsequent story is an African idyl, for through the intervention of Mgr. Massaja, he was united in a happy marriage to the bride of his choice, and formed with his dependents a Catholic community, where every Christian virtue was inculcated by his precept and example.

Belief in the efficacy of Mgr. Massaja's prayers was universal among the natives, and at Lagàmara his credit was much enhanced by the result of a war in which his hosts, previously defeated, had conquered after following his advice. First having persuaded them to offer equitable terms of peace, when these were rejected he bade them plant a number of little crosses along the frontier, whence the invading enemy was repulsed with great slaughter. Many conversions ensued, and a flourishing Catholic colony was established here, in a district where paganism, Islam, and heresy had previously held triple sway. A dreadful scarcity, caused by the war, was aggravated by the increase of the normal population by crowds of refugees from Abyssinia. The missionaries not only spent their last thaler in the relief of the distressed, but begged for alms to supplement their own resources, which they economised by restricting themselves to half rations. The example thus set was not ineffectual, for the rich, who had previously hoarded their goods unmindful of the common want, were stimulated to send in their superabundant stores to the mission, which was thus provided with plentiful supplies for all comers. The distress, which became acute in January, ceased only with the new harvest in September.

The Lazarist Mission in Abyssinia was at this time enduring a cruel persecution at the hands of Theodore, who, crowned as Emperor by Abba Salama, the son of the slave-dealer, became the instrument of his rancorous hatred of the Catholic priests. Mgr. de Jacobis was expelled from Gondar after five months' imprisonment, and many prominent Catholics had to fly southward to the Galla country. Here they were a stumbling block to the missions, as many of them were but recently converted, and so little changed in heart as to give disedification among the heathen by their conduct.

But these trials were as nothing compared with that which overtook Mgr. Massaja in the disastrous news which reached him from Kaffa of the defection of one of his priests. Father Cesare da Castelfranco had not only conformed to the Abyssinian heresy, but had taken a wife of that nation, as is permitted to its clergy. The difficulty of dealing with the case was aggravated, moreover, by the formation of a strong local clique in his support, the lady he had sacrilegiously married being connected with the most influential families, and allied even with that of the King. All the efforts of this party were directed to impeding the journey of the Bishop to Kaffa, where his presence was so urgently needed, and it was only in 1859, after protracted negotiations, that the influence of Baghibo extorted permission for him to proceed thither.

The narrative of his journey is full of interest. He passed through Enàrea, then a large and flourishing kingdom with five royal cities, and there consecrated as his coadjutor, Father Felicissimo Cocino, with the title of Bishop of Morocco *in partibus*. Passing thence into previously unvisited regions, he was everywhere welcomed as a benefactor, and his movements were repeatedly delayed by the multitudes who thronged to all his temporary halting places to be inoculated by his hand. Nor was his progress barren of religious results. The young native catechists formed by his instruction brought in many converts, mixing freely with the people in the villages along the way, and speaking to them of the simpler aspects of religion with a familiarity unattainable by a European. Their recital of episodes from the Gospel or the lives of the Saints was vivified by their own example, as their innocence and avoidance of evil seemed in itself a miracle to those brought up in the unbridled licence of paganism.

To one in particular, whose brief story is told in touching detail by our author, is ascribed by him the foundation of the Catholic community of Ghera, still subsisting when visited by Captain Cecchi, one of the most recent European travellers in those regions. Born in Lagàmara, of parents Christian by lineage, but paganised by long residence in heathendom, this young apostle desired from his earliest years to be instructed by the Catholic missionaries settled there. His parents' consent at last being

gained, he was baptised by the name of Gabriel, and at ten years old made his first communion. The celestial visions with which he was then favoured, repeated on every subsequent approach to the holy table, were sometimes indicated to others, notably to a Mohammedan youth still unconverted, by the sight of lambent flames enveloping him at such moments. His rapturous exaltation of spirit continued even in sleep, during which he was constantly heard to utter prayers and ejaculations. Taken by Mgr. Massaja as the companion of his journey to Kaffa, he became a living revelation to those who approached him, and when his early death fulfilled his own constant prediction, the event caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country, and even the neighbouring Mohammedan court shared in the public mourning. In disregard of the prevailing superstition reputing contact with the dead as contamination, thousands flocked to the rude hut where he lay dead, to kiss his hand and foot, and his interment was delayed beyond the prescribed term, in accordance with the general desire to do homage to the shrine of so pure a spirit. His companions built a hut over his tomb, to which they resorted daily to pray, and formed a league of piety in his honour, binding themselves by solemn vows to follow in his footsteps. The Church may, perhaps, one day confirm the spontaneous voice of general belief by inscribing the little Abyssinian confessor in the roll of her crowned and haloed dead.

Still grieving for their lost companion, the Bishop and his party reached the frontiers of Kaffa, in October 1859, through a dense forest where wild coffee shrubs formed in places the undergrowth. A wall with a height and width of four or five metres girdles the territory where unprotected by natural obstacles, and entrance through the massive gate is only permitted by direct order of the King. A second line of defence encircles the royal province of Bonga, containing the capital of the same name, and here similar formalities had to be gone through.

Much perturbed in spirit at the crisis before him, the Bishop recognised in the coldness of his reception the influence of the party favouring the apostate priest, for though assigned quarters and supplied with provisions by the royal mandate he was not granted an audience. The octave of St. Francis

was passed by all the party in penance and prayer for the conversion of their recreant coadjutor, all, even to the youngest of the pupils, sleeping on nettles and living on bread and water, during those days of agonising suspense. Unknown and unsuspected by them, the unhappy object of their petitions was himself cognisant of them, for though at this time supposed to be kept in durance in the precincts of the royal residence, he contrived to steal out at dusk and watch from a neighbouring thicket the doings in the missionary camp. The inmates of the latter, the Bishop and his swarthy children, were gathered in prayers and tears almost of despair on the last night of the octave, when a shrouded figure glided into their midst, and the penitent lay the next instant prostrate at the feet of his superior.

The public penance and expiation that followed this dramatic scene produced an extraordinary impression on the natives, as they were thus enabled to realise the gulf that separates the Catholic clergy from those of Abyssinia, among whom disorderly and irregular lives are rather the rule than the exception. To this episode, therefore, so grievous at the time, Mgr. Massaja attributes the great movement of conversion in the kingdom of Kaffa, where Father Cesare's preaching, always preluded by a public confession of his fault, was especially fruitful. The brief remainder of his life was spent in exemplary penance and mortification, and his death, in February 1860, followed his conversion at an interval of but a few months. He died of the dreadful disease of the country, induced it is thought by the monstrous habit of devouring uncooked meat, which causes worms to breed in the stomach in such multitudes as to bring on fatal fever and inflammation.

The numbers of those who came for baptism and instruction were so great as to necessitate the establishment of auxiliary stations, and the royal family contributed its quota to the ranks of those received into the Catholic fold in the person of the King's uncle, who was secretly baptised on his death-bed. The missionaries were called in also to pray for the Queen Mother, entitled the Ghebreciò, but her sudden death intervened before her actual conversion. The event was signalled from point to point by beat of drum, and none might sleep

in a bed or eat at a table during the three days' mourning so proclaimed.

During Mgr. Massaja's sojourn in this part of southern Ethiopia, the number of Catholic converts amounted to 5000 out of a total population of about 400,000. These are divided pretty equally between the Pagan and Christian castes, called respectively, Kaficiò and Amari, or Tigrina. The latter are, as their name implies, of Abyssinian descent, and the King is invariably chosen from their ranks, though he resembles other royal personages in conforming after his election to the State religion of his Galla subjects. This consists, in theory, of the worship of a beneficent spirit called *Deoce*, but, in practice, of a number of superstitious observances ministered to by a hierarchy of soothsayers and magicians. These latter form the most influential class in the country, and everywhere intrigued against the missionaries whom they regarded as formidable competitors in their trade. The favourite form of divination, by studying the membrane lining of the stomach of the cow, is explained by the quaint legend that of the three sacred books descended from heaven, the Christian, the Mohammedan, and the Galla, the latter was unceremoniously swallowed by that animal, with the result that some of its characters were transferred to the living parchment of its interior.

The Christian Church of Abyssinia has been corrupted by the adoption of rites both from Judaism and Islam. Circumcision is thus in some places substituted for baptism, which survives only in the form of a universal annual immersion on the morning of the Epiphany. The veneration of the *tubot*, a piece of wood kept in the churches as a symbol of the Ark of the Covenant, is pushed to the length of actual idolatry, this block being made the central object of worship. The practice of animal sacrifice is carried to a length which converts the precincts of the churches into so many shambles, the interests of the priests for whom the flesh of the animals forms a valuable perquisite being bound up in its continuance. The sacrificial idea associated with the act of slaughtering beasts even for food, leads to the practical inconvenience that the adherents of each sect will eat only meat butchered by their co-religionists, and to "eat with the Mohammedans" is a periphrase for the

adoption of their creed. In morality there is, according to our author, little to choose between these professing the two faiths. True, the religious marriage in the Abyssinian Church, contracted by the reception of the Kurban, or communion, by the parties, is indissoluble even by the death of one of them, but it is, on the other hand, solemnised only in very exceptional cases, the prevailing form of union being purely a civil contract, practically revocable at will. The family tie thus weakened or dissolved, the children, neglected and maltreated, are thrown on the world at an early age, without even the memory of a true home. Yet to this barbarous state of society modern legislation in many heretofore Christian and civilised countries promotes a return!

The commerce of Kaffa is mainly in the hands of the Arabs, its most lucrative branches, the export of slaves and musk, being considered alike infamous by the natives. The slaves are so numerous as to constitute a social danger, and so daring that their masters seldom venture to refuse their requisitions for fear of retaliation.

As they are idle, dishonest, and rapacious, the principal inducement to keep them is the profit made on the sale of their children, and they are thus reduced to the lowest depth of degradation by being simply kept as human stock. Their numbers are constantly recruited from the criminal class, enslavement being the usual judicial sentence for serious offences, more especially for witchcraft. The penalty for the latter offence extends to all the family of the accused, and during a scarcity of the human merchandise in 1860, the dealers persuaded the King to declare a number of people *bulda*, or wizards, in order to increase the supply. This policy fell heavily on the Catholic missions, as many of the resulting accusations were directed against their converts, who had to be ransomed at large cost.

The etiquette of Kaffa prescribes that the King must never be seen by the public, and when he gives audience he is hidden behind a screen. He rides abroad in the solemn procession on the Feast of the Cross in September, but surrounded by guards who allow no one to approach within a quarter of a mile of his person on any side. The sacred national emblem, a flag apparently once Portuguese, is then borne by one of his

seven councillors, another of whom carries the royal umbrella, while the multitude prostrate themselves before the pavilion to which he repairs for a short time.

A strangely inconvenient usage of this country ordains that no one shall taste food save in the presence of a legal witness, belonging to the same caste as himself, and duly constituted to the office. The king is not exempt from this bondage, and should the royal appetite demand refreshment even during the night, he is bound to awaken the official charged with testifying to its gratification. The members of a family are generally witnesses for each other, while married people are obliged to eat and drink simultaneously from the same vessels, which long practice enables them to do without spilling a drop of their liquid contents. So sacred is this observance that its omission is ground for separation.

A no less harassing ceremonial must be observed on entering a house, even by its owner. Three signals of approach are prescribed at different stages of proximity, and at the threshold the incomer must stay his progress until met by those within. So inviolable is the custom that no evidence obtained by its omission is admissible, and its effect is to render domestic surprises impossible.

The upper classes never go out except on horse or mule back, and attended by a numerous mounted retinue. A lady of position rides forth in the centre of a group of cavaliers, each holding over her a great frond of the banana, so that she is roofed and canopied by a leafy bower. The Bishop found it necessary to conform to custom, and assert his dignity by riding in company with a troop of fifty men.

The death of an individual of importance is bewailed in a hut erected for the purpose, where the mourners not only howl and writhe in fearful contortions, but either gash their persons with knives, or at least feign to do so, so that they are seen streaming with blood—their own or that of an animal.

Kaffa has a speciality in its bread, called *coccio*, made from the glutinous sap contained in the midrib of the frond, two or three yards long, of the *ensete*, a species of banana. After being buried for some months it dries into flour, which is baked into long loaves of very ponderous weight. Coffee is, of course, a favourite beverage in its native land, and the best

flavoured is that which grows wild, so that the rich keep a tract of natural forest in order to enjoy it in perfection. Coriander berries are another product of the bush much relished by serpents.

The forest gives a home, too, to numbers of wild animals—lions, leopards, hyenas, foxes and jackals, civet-cats and pole-cats. Termites and black ants swarm in myriads, despite a formidable enemy—an ant-eater nearly as large as a pig, of such ghoulish proclivities that he will not only disinter human bodies for food, but will sometimes attack a living man. The water sheep is, as its name implies, an amphibious animal, much prized both for its flesh and for its peculiarly fine skin.

Although the musk of the civet-cat is the main article of export, the traffic in it, entirely in the hands of Mussulmans, is considered so infamous that even to visit the places where the animals are kept is contamination. As the fierce carnivore will not breed in captivity, it is captured when mature, in nets enclosing the thickets it is known to haunt. The captive animals are kept in open wicker cages, slung two and two on transverse bars in the open air, and are fed on raw meat and barley-gruel mixed with a quantity of butter. As one attendant suffices for twelve or fifteen, and as each yields two ounces of musk a month, which sells in Kaffa for a thaler, the creatures pay handsomely for their board and lodging, yet so great is the prejudice against those who keep them that the Bishop, when called in to prescribe for one of their number, was obliged to pay his visit in disguise and by night. Musk is sometimes adulterated with honey, and is usually transported in horns, but is occasionally smuggled in sticks of wax, which are impervious to its tell-tale odour.

The position of the Catholic priests in Kaffa, rendered uneasy by the intrigues of the native magicians, who had skilfully enlisted the royal influence on their side by putting the king at their head, became the more difficult with the growth of jealousy caused by their success. The cabal against them triumphed at last in a decree of banishment, and Gr. Massaja, summarily arrested on August 23, 1861, was escorted to the frontier with rites and ceremonies strangely illustrative of the fantastic superstitions of his captors. The immediate occasion of his exile was the death of a marauding

dog, shot and buried by one of the servants of the mission. The crime lay in the latter act, the burial of a dog being supposed to constitute a form of maleficent spell. The *corpus delicti* was consequently exhumed and borne close to the reverend prisoner on his way to exile, with such mortification of his olfactory sense as may be easily imagined. The awe felt for him in his thaumaturgic capacity was at the same time evidenced by the exorcism practised on the way by a magician decorated with a monkey-skin hood, and carrying a vessel of blood with which he aspersed the road, in order to avert the displeasure of the divinity at the ill-usage of his great priest. At the last bridge, a sheep was slain, and after the carcase of the dog had been sprinkled with its blood, and thrown into the stream, the latter and the bridge crossing it were purified by the sacrifice of a fresh victim.

Consigned at the frontier by the messengers of the King of Kaffa to those of a neighbouring chief, he was conducted to Enàrea, where the death shortly after of Abba Baghivo, the friend of M. d'Abbadie, deprived him of his most zealous protector. The Mohammedan proclivities of his successor were displayed in an intermittent persecution, and the Bishop, finding his footing in Saka, the capital, too precarious for any permanent work to be effected there, took his final departure thence. After visiting the adjoining missions, where his preaching and that of his catechists brought about many fresh conversions, he left Galla-land, little dreaming at the time that he was never to set foot in it again.

His subsequent adventures in traversing Abyssinia constitute one of the most thrilling chapters of his eventful career. Re-entering Gojam with two companions in May 1863, he found the country devastated and reeking with the stench of putrefying cattle abandoned on the march by the soldiers of Theodore, then in the zenith of his baleful career. Captured by a marauding band, the Bishop and his companions were stripped of all they possessed and treated with the greatest harshness. Each chained by the foot to an Abyssinian soldier, they had to pass the night shivering on a plateau 10,000 feet above the sea in the rude company of their semi-savage guards. But the Bishop's chain-fellow, called in the native tongue *corregna*, could not resist the silent eloquence of his patience

and gentleness, and before long attested his regard for his prisoner by repulsing with energetic language the approaches of his former companions in evil. "Begone!" he said, "for you seem to me a sepulchre, while, as for this monk, I find such pleasure in being near him, that I would wish to be his *corregna* even after my death."

A second guardian appointed to conduct him to Theodore's camp fell still more completely under his sway, his final conquest being brought about by the Bishop's endurance of the wicked actions deliberately perpetrated by his gaoler in his presence in order to insult him. When it was proposed to relieve him of his office, he earnestly begged to retain it, although the uncertainty of Theodore's moods rendered appearance in his presence a danger even to his own subjects. During a march of eleven days, he lightened the captivity of his saintly companion by every means in his power, while he continued to receive instruction from him, and to advance daily in knowledge of the truth.

The royal camp was reached in the month of June 1863, through a valley expressively called "the place of shuddering," from the cruelties perpetrated in its vicinity. The ascent led thence up the scarped side of a mountain, whose table-topped summit, commanding a great expanse of country, afforded space for the quarters of 100,000 people. Huts and tents formed into separate groups, each called after the locality whence the soldiers occupying it were drawn, formed as it were a cordon of villages round the imperial camp, distinguished from the rest only by the prickly hedge enclosing it. Theodore was then absent on a foray, his return from which was signalled by the barbarous execution of his prisoners. So terrible an omen of their probable fate added to the heart-dickening anticipations with which the European travellers looked forward to their interview with him.

The summons came quickly, but the result was more favourable than they had dared to hope for. The dread Ethiopian, like so many of his race, succumbed to the overmastering influence of the Bishop's personality, and after a brief though stern cross-examination as to his motives and designs in coming to the country, dismissed him with the highest honours. "I have been vanquished by a monk," was his wondering remark

to those about him on the conclusion of the meeting. The *corregna*, who had been uncertain of his reception, was praised and rewarded for his kind treatment of his prisoner, and his account of his intercourse with him so impressed Theodore, that he formed the project of retaining the captive prelate as *Abouna* of Abyssinia.

The young convert, thus taken into the favour of his sovereign, received an unlooked-for recompense for his accessibility to good influences. A romantic attachment had existed between him and a niece of the King, who had refused his consent to their marriage and banished the lover from the court in consequence of his vicious and disorderly life. Recognising now the reality of his reformation, he spontaneously bestowed on him the hand of his young kinswoman, and their union was celebrated by Mgr. Massaja, as soon as both had received sufficient instruction. Leaving the camp immediately on their marriage, they continued to lead a most exemplary life, and had the joy of entertaining their spiritual benefactor under their roof during the delay interposed to his subsequent journey by the recurrence of the rainy season.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the unhappy Theodore allowed his illustrious visitor to depart, and the latter in many long and confidential colloquies with him, was impressed by the innate nobility of a nature corrupted by evil surroundings and the temptation of inordinate ambition. He describes, as follows, their last meeting, on July 20, 1863, when he was recalled to the Emperor's presence after having actually started from the camp.

The people about me, well knowing how strange and terrible of mood was Theodore, and not knowing what confidences had passed between him and me, suspected one of his usual furious outbursts, and began to tremble for my fate, but I, without discomposure, and with a cheerful countenance, passed through the Imperial enclosure. Admitted instantly to the inner tent, I found Theodore much agitated, and when I had made my salutation, he said to me: "Excuse me for having recalled you, but before you leave me, I desire that you should bless me and this country, because I have a presentiment that we shall not meet again." I, on my part, no less affected, and scarcely able to utter a word, raised my hand to bless him, and having repeated my inclination to him, departed almost in tears.

On the way, the presence of the man haunted me, and considering the gifts with which the Almighty had favoured him, the germs of good not

er extinct in his heart, and the benefits he might have bestowed on this unhappy Abyssinia, I could not refrain from devoting to him a large share of my affections, and praying for his conversion and salvation. But these were barren vows, for after a wild and stormy life, he put an end to his existence by an act of rebellion against God and nature.

After having nearly succumbed to a terrible attack of fever on the way, Mgr. Massaja reached Massowah on November of the same year, and proceeded to Europe, making a convert on board the steamer which conveyed him to Suez, of the chief engineer, a Scotch Protestant. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and a visit to his native commune, where he was received with public rejoicings, were followed by a journey to Paris and an audience of the imperial pair who then held court there.

The next chapter of his apostolate consists of his compulsory residence in Shoa, through which kingdom he hoped to find an easier route to his Vicariate in Galla-land. Having rejected the offer of the English authorities to allow him to accompany the military expedition against Abyssinia then in preparation, he found his movements much hampered by its monopoly of all the available means of transport on the coast. This obstacle, together with the intrigues of the Emir of Zeila, delayed his departure from that port for many months, and it was only in February 1868 that he started for the dominions of Menelik, King of Shoa, bearing a letter from Queen Victoria to that monarch. His residence at a place called Licce, near Ankobar, the capital of his realm, was reached on March 6, and here or whereabouts, was passed the remainder, more than ten years, of Mgr. Massaja's missionary life.

A curious prophecy of his coming, long current in Shoa, greeted him on its frontier, where he was received by an Abyssinian Deftera, or secretary, deputed to that office by the King. This functionary met him as a friend whom he had been expecting for years, and explained the reason in the following curious narrative :

I had heard for years of the great Bishop of Rome and of the schismatic Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, and in my heart esteemed both, but having later learned from one of our monks who had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem the faith professed by each, their dignity, and the superiority of the first over the second, my affections turned to him, and I began to love his faith. Then hearing of the bad conduct of our Abouna Salama, and of the piety and modesty which adorned Abouna Jacob, head of the

missionaries in Tigre, I was still more confirmed in my belief and in my love for the Catholic faith. At last, hearing all speak of the good you were doing in Galla-land, and hoping that one day you would come amongst us, I had a Church built on my estate, and assigned to it lands for the maintenance of two priests, three deacons, and four choristers.

Meantime, whenever any one asked me for whom that Church was to serve, I always answered, for the holy priests that would come into our country. One night, the Madonna appeared to me in sleep, and said to me, that as your coming was certain, I should wait for you to bless the Church and ordain the priests and deacons. Then you left Kaffa, and I, and all who lived in that hope, believed for certain that you would pass through Shoa. But hearing that you had taken the way of Gojam, and had returned to your own country, we were discouraged, and lost all hope of having you amongst us. I, however, always trusting in the word of the Madonna, told every one that you would return, and that we must wait for you, but finding it impossible to leave the Church in that fashion, I was obliged to have it blessed by Salama, and to cede it to the priests ordained by him. Now that you have come, I will reassert my rights, and appoint it to your worship, for which it was constructed. I can trust the priests and deacons who have officiated in it, for they too, like me, love your faith and detest that of Salama.

"But I," was my rejoinder, "have not come to remain here long." "Oh," he replied, "the word of the Madonna is superior to our designs and intentions, and you will do what she wishes."

The confidence of this enthusiastic votary was justified by the subsequent course of events, overruling the cherished plans of the missionary traveller, and compelling him to bow to the will of an earthly monarch, the instrument in this case of a higher power.

The royal precincts of Shoa formed a town within the town, with ranges of courtyards opening one from another, and surrounded by different classes of buildings, such as granaries, ovens, stables, and all descriptions of workshops. Menelik, like other Ethiopian potentates, fell under the influence of Mgr. Massaja to a certain extent, but not sufficiently so to induce him to regulate his own life in accordance with his precepts. The present Negus of Abyssinia, then a very young man, had at the age of nineteen fallen under the influence of an ambitious and unscrupulous woman twenty years older than himself. The intrigues of the court centred round Bafana, for so Menelik's dusky queen was called, and placing herself at the head of the sectarian faction opposed to the Catholic priests, she was, as Mgr. Massaja believed, the cause of their eventual banishment by their royal patron. But the

politics of southern Ethiopia were, in the early part of their stay, governed, to the exclusion of internal dissensions, by the events passing in the northern part of the empire. Here the triumph of the English invasion enhanced Mgr. Massaja's credit with the king, inasmuch as it had been foretold by him, and the monarch perceived how great had been the error he committed in giving only a half-hearted support to the expedition. The fall of Magdala, and death of Theodore, on Holy Saturday, 1868, were celebrated in Shoa with great public rejoicing, though Menelik grieved in secret for his friend.

"I lost my first father [he said to Mgr. Massaja, in reference to this event] when a boy, my second is now taken from me, and I choose you as a third, that you may guide my actions by your counsel." His veneration for the Bishop was indeed of older standing than the latter had known of, as he had been in Theodore's camp during his stay there, and had known, like all Abyssinia, of his memorable moral victory over the tyrant. When the envoys from Galla-land came to solicit the return of their pastor, his Shoan Majesty therefore refused to sanction his departure, and they had reluctantly to return without him.

The religious divisions of Shoa rendered a section of its population at that time favourable to reunion with the Latin Church, and the visit of the Catholic missionaries naturally gave a great stimulus to the movement. A sect of the Abyssinian Church called the *sost ledet*, or *Devra Libanos*, holds tenets introduced from Syria at a very early date, by which the original Monophysite heresy is so modified as to be brought almost into conformity with the teaching of Rome. Not only were many of the priests and congregations of this sect converted *en masse* by the preaching of Mgr. Massaja, but there was a general desire that reunion with the Western Church should be officially proclaimed by his appointment as 'Abouna of Shoa. To this project, which might have dazzled a less sagacious man, he saw grave objections, of which the principal was the difficulty of bringing the prevailing moral standard into harmony with that of European Christianity. The nominal conversion of the nation without a corresponding reformation of manners would, in his view, have been worse than useless, and he confined his efforts to the instruction

and regeneration of individuals. His converts were included in the fierce persecution subsequently waged by the fanatical Ati-Johannes against the adherents of the *Devra Libanos*, and many of the priests reordained by him as Catholics had to fly into Galla-land, where they are probably working and preaching still.

Theological disputations were much affected by the Shoan divines, many of whom, though illiterate, had memories so prodigious that they carried a considerable store of learning in their heads. Their pupils, taught orally, could repeat in the morning almost *verbatim* the lecture delivered to them the night before.

The neighbouring regions of Abyssinia were still distracted by the struggle of the rival pretenders to the inheritance of Theodore, to which Menelik, by his vacillating attitude towards the English conquerors, had temporarily forfeited his claim. In order to recover his prestige he decided, since eating plays a large part in Ethiopian politics, to give a banquet to all comers on an unprecedented scale, and proclaimed its celebration on the great Abyssinian festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, in September 1870. We will let our author describe in his own words the preparations for the royal guests.

Let the reader [he says] imagine a square 200 metres each way, enclosed with wood and coloured cloths. Twelve rows of wooden columns festooned with draperies of various hues, supported, at a height of about 6 metres, the horizontal beams of the roof, also covered with cloth. Long festoons of leaves and flowers were intertwined with garlands and pendants of beads connecting the columns and sides of the hall. Lastly, a great variety of decorative objects wrought in the country, which I cannot characterise, as they have no names in our language, were tastefully arranged in the corners, on the walls, and in various parts of the hall. At the four sides were erected four large porches, closed by rich curtains, giving ingress to other large halls. In the front porch was the entrance door, and opposite to it rose the king's throne, while the side porches led into the halls where were stored the viands to be consumed each day by the guests.

In the great saloon were arranged 150 tables, so far apart that twelve people could sit comfortably at each. These tables were made of strips of cane woven like mats, resembling the hurdles used by us for rearing silkworms, but stronger. Each was supported on two cylindrical columns, made of whole canes, bound together by withes of dried grass. The natives, as we know, eat sitting on the ground, so these tables were

no more than 25 centimetres high. Neither were they covered with table-cloths, for these people do not, either in their own houses or at solemn banquets, use table-cloths, napkins, forks, or the countless other things invented and introduced for the service of the table by civilised people.

At both ends of each table rose a tower of *tarita*, those cakes of durra or *teff* flour weighing a good pound, used as bread by the Ethiopians. And as each tower contained 50 *tarite*, the twelve people seated at the table had before them 100 fresh loaves. This abundance, however, was ordered by the king, rather out of ostentation than from regard for the necessities of the guests, for since these people eat quantities of meat both cooked and raw at their banquets, each guest could scarcely eat two loaves as well.

The royal chair stood on a platform raised on eight steps on which sat the dignitaries of the kingdom. Behind it were tables for the King and his guests, and in an adjoining hall, richly decorated, those for the Queen and the ladies of the court.

To supply the *brondo*, or raw meat for the first day, one hundred beeves had been slaughtered, and an equal number were sacrificed on each of the two succeeding days, while the mighty draughts intended to wash down this tigerish repast were contained in one thousand vessels of beer and hydromel, holding two hundred litres each. The results anticipated from such an orgy were provided for by the appointment of men to carry off the intoxicated guests to adjoining rooms where they might sleep off the effects of their excesses. The extraordinary concourse attracted by the royal hospitality was quite commensurate with the preparations, and the King gave daily rations to ten thousand people. Nor did the entertainment fail in its object, for the fifteen thousand thalers it cost were so well laid out that Menelik was thenceforward constantly acclaimed as Emperor of Ethiopia, the dignity to which he eventually attained.

A period of humiliation and abasement, however, intervened before he could style himself so, as the title was first conferred on the military adventurer, Besbes Kassa, crowned at Axum by Athanasios, the new Abouna, on January 21, 1872. The rise to supreme power of this fanatical freebooter was fatal to the Catholic missions. After the triumphant conclusion of his campaign against Egypt he turned his arms against his rebellious vassal, the King of Shoa, and the latter, crushed and defeated in the field, was compelled to purchase

an ignominious peace by the sacrifice of his guests. Summoned to the imperial headquarters early in 1878, Mgr. Massaja, with his coadjutor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, and Father Louis Gonzaga, was compelled for weeks to accompany the army on its march and witness the devastation wrought by its passage. After a brief audience they were summarily dismissed by the surly tyrant, and ordered to leave his dominions, but Menelik succeeded in postponing, until the following year, the execution of the decree. When its enforcement could be no longer delayed they were, with a refinement of cruelty, compelled to make the circuitous and unhealthy journey home through the Egyptian Soudan, where they lost many of their younger companions from the deadly effects of the climate.

Mgr. Massaja himself, already aged by his life of toil, reached Europe broken in health, to finish his days in the convent of his order at Frascati. Here, in August 1884, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his episcopate, he received the Cardinal's Hat, one of many proofs of esteem and regard bestowed on him by the present Pope. Temporal honours he had long before declined, for when, in 1880, the insignia of Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy were brought to him by the Minister of Justice, he replied, with the courageous candour which was part of his disposition, that he, a humble missionary of the Propaganda, could accept no favours from a Government which had plundered that great institution of its funds and revenues.

The task of compiling the record of his wonderful career was undertaken by him in obedience to the Pope. This monumental work, which for a less active spirit might well have been the occupation of a lifetime, was written in the closing years of his life from unaided memory, all notes and journals having been sequestrated on his exile from Kaffa in 1861. It has the double interest of an autobiography and a book of travels, and in each category deserves to rank with the masterpieces of its kind. Although never tedious, it runs to the length of ten folio volumes, and the fact that its great bulk renders its reproduction in another language almost impossible, must be our apology for presenting to our readers so inadequate an abstract of its contents.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. IV.—THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE CISALPINE CLUB.

IT was at the meeting of the Cisalpine Club on the 12th of May 1795 that the practice was first introduced of entering in the minute book the names of those who were proposed as members. Lord Dormer was proposed on this occasion. All those previously balloted for are mentioned without their names. “A gentleman was balloted for,” or (so many) “gentlemen were balloted for.” As a list of the members will accompany this article, we shall make no further mention of their election.

At the two next meetings no business is entered, except authorising the secretary to lay in a hogshead of claret from Mr. Selby.

At the second meeting, in the year 1796, held on the 8th of March, “a letter from Miss Macnamara, and another from Mrs. Silburn, having been communicated to the club by the secretary, respecting the distresses of the French emigrants, it was resolved that a collection should be immediately made in the box sent for that purpose for the relief of the persons mentioned in those letters, and that the secretary should write to those members of the club who were absent, to inform them of this circumstance, and to request a subscription for the relief of the said persons.” The money immediately collected was £35 9s., which the secretary was ordered to transmit to Miss Macnamara to be applied in such a manner as the ladies of the Charitable Society should think proper. The letters of the two ladies are not entered in the minute book, but the rather formal replies of the secretary are inserted, as well as his letter to the absent members. In this letter he speaks of “the distresses of the French emigrants in London, who, from the suspension of the allowance formerly made to them, are now reduced to a state of extraordinary misery.” He mentions also that he has a box at his chambers where any gentleman may deposit his contribution.

At the three following meetings for the year 1796 no business was transacted. The first meeting for the year 1797

was held on the 14th of February: Mr. Witham was elected secretary for the ensuing year, Mr. Cruise having received the thanks of the club. On this occasion the dinner was ordered at eight shillings a head, six shillings a head having been hitherto the order. Nothing particular occurred at the four remaining dinners this year, except that at the meeting on the 18th of April it is noticed that "George Heneage, Esq., complimented the company with champaigne, having this day received his commission as captain of the North Lincolnshire Supplementary Militia." It was also ordered that the secretary be authorised to lay in six dozen of port from Mr. Selby. The appointment of Mr. Heneage to a captaincy in the Militia was a great event, for it was in the previous year (1796) that, as Mr. Butler tells us, "Lord Petre raised and equipped, at his own expense, a body of two hundred and fifty men, and requested the command of them for his son. His request was refused, and Mr. Petre served in the ranks." The occasion of raising the men was, we suppose, the attempt of the French under General Hoche to invade Ireland.

At the first meeting in the year 1798 a committee was formed to inquire into the state of the finances. They found that there was a balance against the club of £9 13s. 8d., besides a debt to Mr. Selby for wine of £74 14s. It was arranged that the debt should be cleared off by a subscription of two guineas, or any larger sum, from the members who were regular attendants, and of one guinea from those who usually resided in the country. The yearly subscription was also raised to four guineas. For the year 1798 it would appear that no secretary was elected; several gentlemen having acted in that capacity until the meeting on the 12th of March 1799 when Mr. Cruise was again elected. From this time the minute book shows no business of any sort transacted, with the exception of ordering six dozen of port from Mr. Selby, until the dinner on the 12th of May 1801, when the following entry occurs: "It was ordered that whenever the usual day of meeting of the club shall be a fast-day, or a day of abstinence, the secretary shall appoint the subsequent Tuesday for the meeting of the club." The five meetings of the club during the year 1802 were held at Molland's Hotel. Besides the dinner, the renewed election of

Mr. Cruise as secretary, and the usual balloting for members, nothing was done.

At the five meetings for the year 1803 the only business, besides ordering port of Mr. Selby, related to a picture of the late Lord Petre.* His lordship was one of the founders of the club, and had always taken an active part in its proceedings. The club desired to have his portrait, and asked his son, then Lord Petre, to present a print of one already taken. This Lord Petre did, and the question then was what to do with it. A committee was appointed, and recommended that it should be inserted into the back of a chair to be used by the chairman at the annual dinners. The club did not approve of this idea, and added Sir Henry Englefield to the committee for further consideration, at the same time thanking Lord Petre for his gift, and asking him to co-operate with the committee in considering what further suggestion could be made to perpetuate the memory of his father. The dinners during this year, and for many years afterwards, were at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand. In reference to the portrait of Lord Petre, the club after all decided upon the chair plan ; for at the dinner in May 1804 the club desired the committee to make their report, which they accordingly did at the June meeting. We copy the report and its consequences *verbatim* from the minute book :

Mr. Clifford, from the committee appointed for placing the engraving of the late Lord Petre in the club-room, reported that, in obedience to the orders of this club at the last meeting, the said committee had met, and having approved of a plan of a chair presented to them, had ordered the chair to be made according to such plan. Resolved : That the report be received. Ordered : That the chair be brought in. Resolved : That the chair brought in meets the approbation of the club.

This was all the business done in the year 1804. Either Cisalpinism was dying out, or the presence of "Boney" just on the other side of the Straits of Dover, put everything else out of the heads of the members of the Cisalpine Club. During this year the dinners were very badly attended ; even at the June meeting there were only thirteen members present. Many of the members were probably with the Militia regiments. No

* This was the Lord Petre whose name has occurred several times in the course of this article.

new secretary had been appointed, so far as appears on the minutes, since the appointment of Mr. Cruise in 1799, and several gentlemen, chiefly Mr. William Throckmorton, seem to have acted for the day. During the year 1805 nothing was done with the exception of a final resolution relating to the "Petre chair." This was a vote of thanks to the committee for their labours in the matter. "Mr. Simpkin," who, we suppose, was the landlord of the Crown and Anchor, "was ordered and undertook to keep a sufficient quantity of the port and madeira approved of by Lord Shrewsbury for the drinking of the club."

At the first meeting of the club in the year 1806, the time for paying the bill after dinner was again changed and appointed to be at ten o'clock, and after that hour no expenses, except for tea and coffee, were to be paid by the treasurer. At this meeting Mr. Butler moved and Mr. Stapleton seconded a vote of thanks to Sir John Throckmorton "for the pamphlet lately published by him on the debate which took place last year in both Houses of Parliament on the Irish Catholic Petition, and that he be requested to present to the secretary a copy of the same, to be kept among the papers and records of this club." It is not said in the minutes that this resolution was carried, but we conclude that it was, as at the next meeting a vote of thanks to Sir John was passed "for the present of his late publication." We have not seen that pamphlet, but we imagine it to have been a little Cisalpinism cropping up again. Sir John's writings were very decidedly Cisalpine, and indeed in some of them he showed himself to be more Gallican than the Gallicans themselves. It is not likely, however, that there was in the pamphlet anything contrary to the teaching of the Church as then defined, as, if there had been, Mr. Butler would not have recommended the publication to the club. At the meeting in March Mr. Throckmorton reported a balance of £12 17s. 1d. in favour of the club, and then moved that Mr. Prujean be appointed secretary in his room, which was voted unanimously. From this I suppose that Mr. Throckmorton had been appointed secretary without limitation of office to one year. This is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Prujean and his successors each remained in office for several years without any annual re-election. At the meeting

In April, a practice was commenced of entering in the minute-book the quantity and the kind of wine drunk at each meeting. At this meeting the entry is "twenty bottles of wine were drunk, viz., four of port, four of madeira, and twelve of claret." Dinner had been ordered for fourteen, but there were only ten present; so that the amount drunk was an average of two bottles each—a pretty good allowance, but, still, not more than might have been expected in those days. One thing to be noticed with regard to the wine is the small amount of port which was drunk in comparison with the quantity of other wines. This proportion continued up to the dissolution of the club in the year 1830. For about nine years of the twenty-four years from 1806 to 1830 the amount of wine drunk is not mentioned. In the years 1806 and 1807, port, madeira, and claret were drunk, but claret in by far the largest quantity. Occasionally, about the year 1812, claret was the only wine drunk. From the year 1818 to the year 1824 no port was drunk; the wines served were claret and sauterne, and two or three times moselle. From 1824 up to 1830 port was drunk in increasing quantity, but claret was still the favourite. About the year 1824 sauterne drops out of the list, and champagne and moselle take its place. There is no mention of sherry at any of the dinners. The average amount of wine drunk by each gentleman at the meetings was higher in 1806 and 1807 than at any other time recorded in the minute-book. The greatest quantity at any one meeting was on February 10th, 1807, when eight gentlemen (Lord Shrewsbury, Messrs. Clifford, Walmsly, Lloyd, Prujean, Cruise, and two Messrs. Langdale) drank twenty-one bottles—six of port, four of madeira, and eleven of claret. During the last twelve years of the club the average never reached two bottles each, and as sometimes not much over one apiece.

At the April meeting in the year 1807 it was moved by Mr. Iverton and seconded by Mr. Charlton:

That the opinion of the Cisalpine Club be taken at its next meeting, being the 12th of May, on the following question: "Whether it be advisable under existing circumstances to call a meeting of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain," and "That the Club be invited to assemble three o'clock on the said day in this house (the 'Crown and Anchor') consider of the propriety of the above-mentioned question."

On the 12th of May the names of the gentlemen present, with the exception of "Marmaduke Langdale, Esq.," the chairman, are not entered. "The club assembled pursuant to the resolution at the last meeting, and at five o'clock the chairman took the chair. Mr. Silvertop withdrew his motion. Sir John Throckmorton moved and Sir Henry Englefield seconded: 'That the thanks of the Club be given to Mr. Silvertop for his zeal in calling the attention of the club to the present circumstances of the Catholics.'" The circumstances were, that a fortnight before the meeting at which Mr. Silvertop proposed his resolution Lord Grenville's Ministry of "All the Talents" had been forced to resign in consequence of the opposition of the king to the introduction of any Catholic Relief Bill into Parliament. The Duke of Portland's Ministry, commonly called the "No Popery Ministry," had succeeded to power. The whole country was roused against the Catholics, and of the state of things which existed Lord Russell says in his "Recollections," that it "was the proceeding the most discreditable to the English people of any that has occurred in my time." The reason why the Cisalpine Club declined to interfere does not appear; it may have been because, in face of the troubles, the club saw that it could not "by opposing end them," and that the best policy was to bow before the storm; or it may have been because the members of the club thought that they were not in a position to call a public meeting of the Catholic body. At the same meeting, on May the 12th, Sir Henry Englefield produced a printed paper intituled "An Address from His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects," and moved that it should be signed by all the gentlemen present, which being seconded by Mr. Silvertop, all the gentlemen present, except two, signed the same. A vote of thanks was carried to Mr. Butler for having prepared the address.* The dinners in the month of June were usually better attended than any of the other meetings; but the dinner on the 9th of June was the smallest in the history of the Club. Only four members were present. In consequence of this, balloting for members could not take place; but a resolution proposed at the previous dinner was voted, making "the memory of the

* This address is to be seen in Mr. Butler's "Historical Memoirs."

ate Lord Petre a standing toast of the club." Besides the meeting on the 12th of May 1807, it appears from the minute-book that there was another meeting on the 19th of the same month, but the minutes of it are entered immediately after the June meeting. The proceedings at this meeting of the 19th of May may account for the smallness of the attendance on the 9th of June, for Dr. Collins moved: That it is the general resolution of the gentlemen here present not to attend at the next meeting of the Cisalpine Club, and that a committee be now appointed to consider of the measures to be pursued afterwards. The Committee was formed, and Messrs. Cruise, Butler, and Throckmorton, at the next meeting on the 26th of April 1808, made the following report:

In compliance with the direction of a meeting held last year to consider forming a new club, we recommend that the club retain the name of Cisalpine Club, and the principal rules and regulations of it, with the following:

That any member may in future be liable to be expelled by a motion regularly made and seconded at one meeting, and balloted for at a subsequent meeting, by the votes of two-thirds of the members present at such subsequent meeting.

That there be three meetings and no more in each year, to be held on the second Tuesdays in April, May, and June.

That the subscription be three guineas, and that persons in town only in any one day pay only one guinea, and that the minutes of the former club be bound up and adopted by this club.

On the motion of Lord Shrewsbury, seconded by Lord Corder, the above resolutions were received and adopted unanimously. Thanks were voted "to the three gentlemen who were entrusted with the framing the resolutions of the Club," and Mr. Prujean was requested to continue secretary, with which request he complied. The memory of the late Lord Petre was still to be a toast under the new arrangement, and it was ordered to be drunk immediately after "The King."

It was also unanimously resolved "that the third toast of the Club should be "The Roman Catholic Committee of the year '91."

The minutes of the last two meetings, both in their substance and in their wording, afford matter for speculation. There had evidently been in the club what in plain English we should

call a row; but about what and to what extent the minutes do not reveal. It appears, indeed, that there was a strike against five dinners a year, and the resolution about expulsion rather suggests the idea that some one had deserved it.* The

* His Lordship the Bishop of Clifton having kindly read this article in manuscript, wrote the following letter to the writer :

MY DEAR FR. AMHERST,

In your article on the Minute Book of the Cisalpine Club, after describing the two meetings, held one on the 9th day of June 1807, and the other shortly before that—viz., on the 19th of the previous May—you remark: “The minutes of the last two meetings, both in their substance and in their wording, afford matter for speculation. There had evidently been in the club what in plain English we should call a row; but about what and to what extent the minutes do not reveal. It appears that there was a strike against five dinners a year, and the resolution about expulsion rather suggests the idea that some one had deserved it.” An amusing anecdote, related to me some forty years ago by my father, Lord Clifford, will, I think, help to throw light on these speculations. The individual against whom the resolution about expulsion was directed is Mr. Henry Clifford, well known at the time as Counsellor Clifford, leader of the O. P. riots. He was one of the original members of the Cisalpine Club. He was a talented man, a barrister of Lincoln’s Inn, and, as appears from the minute-book, he took the chair at the first meeting of the club on the 12th of April 1792, being only twenty-four years of age. That he enjoyed for several years the confidence of the members is apparent from the fact that he was elected secretary to the club three consecutive years, and it was at his own request (as stated in the minutes, 10th Feb. 1795) that he was not then re-elected for the fourth time. However, after a time serious differences arose between him and the other members of the club. What was the cause of these differences I do not remember to have heard my father say. Perhaps his connection with the O. P. riots may have given offence. That he was one of those members who resisted the reduction of the number of dinners may be surmised from what is stated in the minutes of the meeting of 10th Feb. 1807. And if he was one of the two dissentients from the proceedings of May 12th of that same year, we may conclude that he disagreed from the other members as to the course adopted by the club in relation to Catholic affairs. Whatever was the reason—and perhaps there was more than one—Mr. Clifford had grown quite out of sympathy with the other members, and they determined, so my father told me, to get rid of him. But the difficulty was how to do it. He was requested to withdraw his name, but this he resolutely refused to do, and there was no provision made in the rules of the club for the expulsion of obnoxious members. They consulted Mr. Charles Butler, and he advised them that the only way in which they could attain their object was for all the members to withdraw and so bring the present club to an end. The same individuals might then meet and form a new club, excluding Mr. Clifford, with the same rules as the former club, but with additional clauses giving power to expel obnoxious members, and restricting the club dinners to three in the year. It was necessary, for the due carrying out of this plan, to make sure that all the members without exception withdrew their names from the existing club: otherwise, if the greater number withdrew, but a few remained, the majority would rest excluded by their own act and the club would henceforth be carried on by the minority, who might add to their number and act as they pleased. The minutes show the precautions that were taken, and the manner in which the concerted plan was carried out. After the ordinary meeting of May 12th, 1807, a special meeting was held on the 19th of the same month. At this meeting a resolution was passed by all the members present not to attend the next meeting of the Cisalpine Club, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. C. Butler,

only practical result of the little revolution seems to have been that the members dined together three times a year instead of five times. The resolution about toasting the committee of 1791 shows that the principles of the new Cisalpine Club were the same as those of the old one. It was in this year (1808) that the Catholic Board was established, and it is possible some may have thought one Catholic organisation enough. The Cisalpine Club, however, outlived the Board, and lasted for two and twenty years more. There was at this time a considerable accession of members. In the year 1809 the meetings were well attended, but no business of importance was transacted. At the first meeting in the year 1810 the amount of the annual subscription was again changed, and it was resolved unanimously that it should be two guineas and a half

Cruise, and Mr. Throgmorton, "to consider the measures to be pursued afterwards"—i.e., to carry out the plan arranged by Mr. C. Butler. The next meeting was due on the 9th of June, when, according to the preconcerted plan, none of the members put in an appearance, except the three committee-men, and, of course, Mr. Clifford. There were only four members present; consequently no new members could be balloted for, and the three committee-men had come duly provided with letters from all the other members, requesting that their names be withdrawn from the list of members of the club. Their requests having been granted, the three committeemen withdrew their own names also, and then intimated to Mr. Clifford that now there were no more members belonging to the Cisalpine Club, and that in consequence there could be no more meetings at which he could attend. "Oh! but," replied Mr. Clifford, "I have not withdrawn my name from the club, and as I am the only surviving member, the assets of the club rest with me: I claim the wine barrel." There was no help for it; Mr. Butler had not thought of the stock of wine belonging to the club (see minutes of 1805), and had made no provision to secure it for the new club. The rest of his plan was duly carried out, as recorded in the minutes. In April of the following year the new club was established, with the same name and the same members, Mr. Clifford only excluded. But Mr. Clifford got the wine. I think also that he got possession of the President's chair, for in the minutes of a meeting held in May 1816 (three years after the death of Mr. Clifford) "the president (Mr. Cruise) informed the meeting that Julia Lady Petre had presented the club with a handsome chair, in which he presided, and moved that the thanks of the club be presented to her ladyship for the same by Mr. Edward Petre." This, I think, was no other than the handsome chair repeatedly referred to in the minutes of the years 1803-4. In the back was inserted a portrait of the ninth Lord Petre, one of the original founders of the club, presented by Lord Petre, his son. This chair (in addition to the stock of wine) formed apparently the only property belonging to the club at the time when Mr. Clifford was left the only surviving member. After his death, which took place in 1813, Lady Petre probably managed to get possession of it, and presented it to the new club.

I remain, my dear Fr. Amherst,
Yours most sincerely,
WILLIAM CLIFFORD.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, CLIFTON,
March 3, 1892.

a year, whether the member should attend or not. At the June meeting in 1810 it was resolved "that in future the first meeting of the club, instead of being held on the second Tuesday in April, shall always be held on the first Tuesday after Low Sunday." In the year 1811, besides some financial arrangements, and ordering six dozen claret of Mr. Selby, the only business of importance was the appointment of Mr. Francis William Talbot as secretary, in place of Mr. Prujean resigned. Mr. Prujean received the thanks of the club for his faithful discharge of the office of secretary. At the first meeting in the year 1812 the secretary reported "that the following gentlemen had withdrawn their names from the club: Edward Darell, Charles Conolly, Thomas Stapleton, Charles Bodenham, John Prujean, and Edward Howard." It would be interesting to know why so many left in a body. A good many new members, however, joined during this year. At the June meeting in this year it was decided to change the place of meeting for the future from the "Crown and Anchor" to the "Thatched House Tavern" in St. James's Street, and also the hour of meeting from six to seven o'clock. The "Thatched House" was continued as the place of meeting until the dissolution of the club in the year 1830; and after that the Emancipation Club, which succeeded to the Cisalpine, had their dinners in the same tavern, until the club broke up in the year 1847. In the year 1813 the dinners were well attended, but no business was done.

At the April meeting in the year 1814, and on the motion of Lord Dormer, seconded by Sir John Throckmorton, the annual subscription was again changed and raised to three guineas. At the same time the charge for a visitor was raised to one guinea and a half. At the April meeting in the year 1815, the secretary informed the club that Dr. Goldie had instructed him to withdraw his name. The largest meeting of the club, with the exception of the one when O'Connell was blackballed, was held on the 13th of June, 1815, which was just five days before the battle of Waterloo. It is not difficult to imagine the animated conversation which must have taken place at this dinner. It is not mentioned how many bottles of wine were drunk on this occasion, but it must have been a respectable quantity, as for the thirty-two

gentlemen present the bill amounted to £62 15s. At the May meeting of the year 1816 the president (Mr. Cruise) informed the meeting that Julia Lady Petre had presented the club with a handsome chair, in which he presided, and moved that the thanks of the club be presented to her ladyship for the same by Mr. Edward Petre, which was unanimously agreed to, and he undertook to present the same accordingly. During all the years about this time many new members joined the club, which was fast losing its Cisalpine character, and becoming a mere dining club. This is evident, judging from the names of some of those gentlemen who allowed themselves to be proposed. At the June dinner in the year 1817, the secretary "informed the meeting that Mr. Marmaduke Langdale, Mr. Robert Canning, and Mr. John Wright had withdrawn their names from the club." The finances of the club were in a flourishing condition. At the meeting in May 1818, the secretary having announced that Mr. Scully had withdrawn his name from the club, said that there was a balance of £61 18s. 3d. in favour of the club, a committee was appointed to consider and report as to the best mode of disposing of that sum. At the following June meeting the committee reported that they had purchased some claret and moselle for immediate consumption, and recommended purchasing half a hogshead of claret. With the exception of an announcement by the secretary that he had purchased wine, no business was done until the first meeting in the year 1821, on the 8th of May, when, on the motion of Mr. Edward Blount, seconded by Lord Arundell, the amount of subscription was again altered, and the manner of subscribing was changed. It was resolved :

That the annual subscription of each member shall in future be one guinea; that each member dining at the club shall pay one guinea towards the expense of the dinner provided, such payment with the annual subscription shall not amount to more than three guineas in any one year, and that each new member shall, immediately on his election, pay five guineas entrance, and if not paid at or before the then next meeting the election to be void.

Mr. Edward Petre had given notice of a new rule, but at his meeting, when it should have come on for the ballot, he withdrew it. As the resolution contained a very useful

admonition, though it probably would not have passed the ballot, I give it as follows: "That any member who shall in future give any dinner in London on any of the days of the meeting of the club shall forfeit five guineas for the benefit of the club." At this meeting Mr. Charles Turvile, who during the illness of Mr. Talbot had been acting as secretary, was elected treasurer and secretary on Mr Talbot's decease. The secretary then informed the club "that William Cruise, Esq., and George Petre, Esq., had withdrawn their names from the club." At the close of the year 1821 the balance in the hands of the treasurer was £110 11s. A committee was formed to consider the best way of appropriating the balance, but no report from them appears in the minute-book. At the meeting on the 8th of April 1823, on the motion of Sir Edward Blount, Bart., and seconded by James Whible, Esq., it was unanimously resolved that "The Cause of Civil and Religious Liberty" be a standing toast of the club. At the meeting on the 10th of June 1823 "the secretary for the time being" (Mr. George Eyston) "read a letter from Charles Butler, Esq., one of the members of the club, giving notice that at the first meeting next year he should give notice of a motion to alter the name of the club to that of 'The Catholic Club,'" which several members present stated they should oppose. But at the first meeting in April 1824, "Mr. Butler declined giving any notice of a motion to alter the name of the club." This motion of Mr. Butler's seems to show that, so far at least as he was concerned, there was no intention of transacting any more of what may be called "Cisalpine business." He must also have thought that such was the intention of the bulk of the members. He withdrew the notice, no doubt because the opposition to his motion would have been sufficient to reject it. What Mr. Butler's motive was precisely in wishing to change the name of the club we do not know. Though a man who had very strong convictions, he was eminently one who desired to be conciliatory. It is very probable that he thought it was no longer necessary to mark a distinction which was the cause of a want of complete union amongst the Catholics of England. At the next meeting "the secretary read a letter from James Wheble, Esq., directing him to erase his name from the list of members of the club." With the exception of resolutions about getting in

wine and about subscriptions in arrear, no other business was done until the April meeting in the year 1826, when Mr. Edward Petre proposed and Mr. Cholmeley seconded a motion that "The Surviving Members of the Committee of 1791" be a standing toast of the club. But at the June meeting, when that proposition should have come on, Mr. Eyston, of Hundred, proposed and Lord Arundell seconded a motion, which was unanimously agreed to, "That as there was but one surviving member of the committee of 1791, Mr. Petre should be communicated with before his motion should be brought forward." Mr. Petre accordingly withdrew his motion. The one surviving member was Mr. Butler. In consequence of the appointment of a committee to examine the accounts of the club, it met at the chambers of the secretary in Gray's Inn. As one result of this inquiry the members of the committee reported to the club that the arrears amounted to no less a sum than £270 and upwards." On the recommendation of the committee the two following rules were voted at the April meeting in the year 1827 :

That in case any member shall neglect to pay his annual subscription, due on the second Tuesday after Easter, for the term of five years, notice shall be sent to him by the secretary, and if not paid within three months after such notice, the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the club, and his name shall be erased from the books accordingly. That the arrears now due from each member of the club shall be calculated at the rate of one guinea per annum from the time the arrear commenced.

During this year Mr. Edward Petre and Colonel Stonor proposed to increase the number of dinners from three to four in the course of the year. This, and a proposition of the same kind made in the following year by Colonel Stonor, backed by Mr. George Fortescue Turvile, were rejected by the club.

At the June meeting in the year 1827,

it was proposed by Edward Blount, Esq., and seconded by the Hon. Philip Stourton, "That a sum of one hundred guineas from the funds of the club be expended in the purchase of plate to be offered to Charles Turvile, Esq., as a testimony of gratitude for his valuable services in conducting the affairs of the club.

This proposition was unanimously agreed to at the first meeting of the club in the year 1828. At the June meeting

in the same year, on the motion of Mr. Francis Canning, seconded by Sir Edward Blount, it was unanimously resolved that Messrs. Edward Blount, John Gage, and Michael Jones should form a committee to confer with the secretary and carry into effect the above resolution. This vote resulted in the purchase of a very handsome salver, on which the names of all the then members, and also the names of the deceased and retired members were engraved, and it was presented to Charles Turvile by the chairman, the Hon. Philip Stourton, at the April meeting of the club in the year 1830, the day on which the Cisalpine Club was dissolved. Charles Turvile died on the 29th of June 1839, in consequence of an accident at the Rugby station. By his will he left the salver as an heirloom in the family of Fortescue Turvile, of Bosworth Hall, he being at the time of his death the second son of the then possessor. It may interest some to know that John Gage and Michael Jones were put upon the testimonial committee because they were both lovers of art and men of taste. Gage, afterwards Gage Rokewode, was well known amongst antiquarians as a man of extensive information, and Michael Jones, though not so publicly known, was a learned antiquary. Colonel Talbot, a relation and intimate friend of Charles Turvile, and Thomas Stapleton, another learned antiquarian, had been added to the committee.

At the April meeting in the year 1828 the secretary announced that he had a balance in his hands of £175 13s. 5d., and the then stock of wine consisted of 18 bottles of moselle, 19 bottles of port, and 240 bottles of claret; that the average consumption of wine for the last seven years had been 42 bottles of claret, 21 of moselle, 13 of port, and 22 of champagne in every year; that the average receipts for the last seven years had been about £138 per annum, and the expenditure during the same time £121, leaving an average balance in favour of the club of about £17 per annum. From this it appears that the club was in a flourishing condition, and yet its end was fast approaching.

The royal assent was given to the Emancipation Act on the 13th of April 1829. On the 28th of the same month the first meeting of the club was held for that year. There were twenty-five members present. After dinner, "on the motion

of Sir Edward Vavasour, seconded by Francis Cholmeley, Esq., it was proposed that, in consequence of the recovery of those just rights which it was the original object of this club to effect, a committee be named at our next meeting to report how far any and what alterations may be desirable in the rules and constitution of the club." At the next meeting, on the 12th day of May, that proposition having been balloted for, was rejected. It is not surprising that Sir Edward Vavasour was not able to pass his resolution, for that resolution did not express the object for which the Cisalpine Club was formed, which was to perpetuate the principles of the committee of 1791. What good the club did was, as we have seen, more accidental work than work for which the club was founded. From the year 1808, when the Catholic Board was established, and from 1823, when the Catholic Association was commenced, the Cisalpine Club had no pretence for interfering in the management of Catholic affairs.

But the rejection of Sir Edward Vavasour's motion was unfortunately not the last act which the club did previous to its dissolution ; for on the same day on which that motion was proposed, and just a fortnight after the passing of the Emancipation Act, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., was proposed to become a member of this club by James Langdale, Esq., and seconded by Thomas Stonor, jun., Esq. (the late Lord Camoys), and was to be balloted for at the next meeting. That next meeting, which was held on the 12th day of May 1829, was the largest meeting of the Cisalpine Club which had been held since its foundation, and at that meeting O'Connell was blackballed. There were thirty-seven members present. Howards, Talbots, Blounts, Throckmortons, Arundells and Jerninghams were well represented ; there were only two or three gentlemen at the dinner who were not members of some old English Catholic family. A stranger, walking down St. James's Street that evening, but one who happened to know what was going on at the "Thatched House Tavern," would have supposed that the Catholic gentlemen of England were going to admit into their club by acclamation the man to whom they were chiefly indebted for the passing of the great Act, the man who might have excluded them from the emancipation which he had won, and left them to fight their own

battle for liberty. But they were trooping down to exclude their Liberator from their company. This generous act was of course often spoken of in days gone by, and in those days I never heard but one explanation. It was this: the English Catholic Association had done something which offended many of the Catholics in England, and particularly those of Manchester. They appealed to O'Connell, who mentioned the matter at a meeting of the Association in Dublin. He said, amongst other things, "that the English Catholic Association thought themselves so superior to the Catholics of their own country and the Irish Association, although they were no more to the latter than a cock-boat to a man-of-war, or a canoe following in the wake of a seventy-four, and if they were expected to arrive at the haven of emancipation, it must be under the lee and protection of the Irish Catholic Association." The words were undoubtedly very stinging. They were not forgiven. Five years afterwards the Catholic gentlemen of England blackballed the man who uttered them, though he was the man who in the meantime had emancipated them. It may be also added that O'Connell's language often gave offence; for there were many English gentlemen, Protestants and Catholics, who were not at all particular in their choice of words when speaking of O'Connell, but who were mightily fastidious in regard to the words which O'Connell took from his copious vocabulary when speaking of them. Such was the last act of the Cisalpine Club previous to its dissolution.

It is interesting to know what O'Connell himself thought about his having been blackballed at the Catholic clubs. Writing to a friend in Dublin he says:

Have you heard of the conduct of the English Catholics towards me? They have here a club called the Cisalpine—a bad name you will say. They have been much divided amongst themselves and were soon all about to reunite. I agreed to be proposed into it, when, behold! they met the day before yesterday and blackballed me. I believe, however, it has knocked up the club, as Howard of Corby tells me, and several others at once declared that they will never come near the club again. Mr. Blount has behaved extremely well on this occasion, and no man could behave better. I believe there are many of them highly indignant at the conduct of the rest, and at all events I heartily forgive them all. But it was a strange thing for them to do. It was a comical testimonial of my services

in emancipating them. It would be well perhaps if I could unemancipate some of them.*

Two more meetings were held. The dinner on the 9th of June was well attended. Including two visitors, there were twenty-eight gentlemen present, Lord Stafford being in the chair. On the removal of the cloth the secretary read letters from Sir Edward Vavasour, Mr. Howard, Mr. Gage Rookwood, and Mr. Berkeley, requesting that their names might be erased from the list of the members of the club.

It was then proposed by Mr. Edward Blount and seconded by Mr. Butler :

That the Cisalpine Club be dissolved, and that all the members be invited to become original members of a new club to be named the Club of 1829. That a committee of not less than six members of the Cisalpine Club be chosen to select rules and regulations adapted for the government of the new club. That the same committee be empowered to add to the original members of the new club.

The last meeting of the Cisalpine Club was held on the 20th of April 1830. Twenty-six members and two visitors sat down to dinner. The Hon. Philip Stourton was in the chair.

“ The secretary read a letter from Mr. Towneley requesting this name might be withdrawn.” The last member proposed at the club was then balloted for and elected—Charles Edward Terningham.

A ballot was also taken for the motion proposed by Edward Blount and seconded by Mr. Butler, and which was carried in the following terms: “ That the Cisalpine Club be dissolved and that all the members be invited to become original members of a new club, and that a committee of not less than six members of the Cisalpine Club be chosen to select rules and regulations adapted for the government of the new club.”

This club was then accordingly dissolved.

The Cisalpine Club was originally formed on unsound principles. The later members of the club did not, generally speaking, hold those principles, and it was well known that

* This letter is dated from London, May 12, 1829, in the O’Connell Correspondence. The Mr. Blount mentioned in the letter was the late Mr. Edward Blount of Bellamore, secretary to the English Catholic Association, and whose name has frequently occurred in this article.

they did not. They joined the club for the sake of the society which it afforded. Mr. Butler himself, as we have seen, was the first to propose a change in the name of the club. The sons of those who were members of the club when it broke up were, I should say, almost all as ultramontane in their opinions as any Catholics in the world. A Cisalpine Club like the one which was founded in 1792 would not now be established. No Catholic could be a member of it. The present generation of English Catholics have certainly shown their readiness to accept the infallibility of the Pope as defined by the Vatican Council, and their willingness to obey all those regulations in matters of discipline which the Holy Father wishes to be universally followed.

It may interest the reader to know that the new club, formed on the ruins of the Cisalpine, was called the "Catholic Emancipation Club." It was joined by almost all the members of the old club. Charles Turvile continued to act as its treasurer and secretary until his untimely death in the year 1839, when his place was taken by George Eyston, his partner in the firm of Barrett, Turvile and Eyston, and who was so well and so honourably known amongst English Catholics. Eyston continued in the office of treasurer and secretary until the dissolution of the Emancipation Club in the year 1847.

W. J. AMHERST, S.J.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE
CISALPINE CLUB.*

ELECTED.	ELECTED.
Arundell, Hon. Everard, April 11, 1809	Berington, John, March 14, 1797
Arundell, Lord, June 9, 1812	Bryan, George, May 10, 1803
Amherst, William, April 19, 1814	Blundell, Charles, Feb. 7, 1804
Acton, Sir Richard, May 9, 1820	Bodenham, Chas., jun., April 11, 1809
Arundell, Henry, June 14, 1825	Berkeley, Robert, June, 9, 1812
Arundell, Hon. Henry Benedict, June 13, 1826	Blount, Michael, jun., April 27, 1813
Butler, Charles,* April 12, 1792	Blake, Anthony, May 18, 1813
Blount, Sir Walter,* April 12, 1792	Blount, Sir Edward, May 13, 1817
Blount, Edward.	Berkely, Robert, jun., May 11, 1819
Blundell, Henry.	Bernard, Henry, April 20, 1819
Bellasye, Rev. Chas., D.D.	Browne, Hon. William, April 16, 1822
	Barnewall, Hon. Thos., April 8, 1823
	Bedingfield, Henry, June 10, 1823

* The mark * after a name indicates an original member. Where the day of election is left vacant, it is not inserted in the Minute Book; but it was previous to June 9, 1795.

ELECTED.	ELECTED.
Blount, William,	June 13, 1826 Jerningham, Wm.
Burke, Sir John, Bart.,	May 15, 1827 Jones, Michael,
Blount, Aston,	May 20, 1828 Jerningham, Edw.,
Clifford, Henry,*	April 12, 1792 Jerningham, Sir George,
Courtenay, George,*	April 12, 1792 Jones, Philip,
Cruise, William,*	April 12, 1792 Jerningham, Hon. Henry,
Cholmeley, Francis.	June 14, 1825.
Collins, John, D.D.	Jones, Michael,
Cox, Robert Kelby.	April 24, 1827
Curzon, Henry.	Jerningham, Edmund,
Canning, Francis,	June 10, 1828
Canning, Francis, jun.,	Feb. 19, 1798 Jerningham, Chas. Edwd.
Conolly, Mr.,	April 2, 1800 April 20, 1830.
Canning, Robert,	June 10, 1800
Clifford, Lewis,	June 8, 1802
Cary, George,	Feb. 8, 1803
Charlton, of Hesleside,	June 11, 1805
Cholmeley, Francis, jun.,	May 12, 1807
Constable, Marmaduke	
Maxwell,	April 7, 1812
Clifton, John,	May 10, 1814
Cox, Samuel,	April 14, 1815
Cronin, Daniel,	April 11, 1826
Dormer, Hon. Charles,*	April 12, 1792
Devereux, J. E.	
Dormer, Lord,	June 9, 1795
Dayrell, jun.,	Mar. 11, 1806
Dillon, J. J.,	June 13, 1820
Dormer, Lord,	May 15, 1827
Englefield, Sir Hy. Chas.*	April 12, 1792
Errington, Henry,*	April 12, 1792
Eyre, Thomas,	April 27, 1813
Eyston, Charles,	May 18, 1813
Eustace, Rev. John	
Chetwode,	April 19, 1814
Eyston, George,	June 12, 1821
Errington, Michael, of	
Clinty,	June 12, 1827
Fingall, Earl of.	
Fitzherbert, Basil.	
Fermor, William,	Feb. 7, 1804
Fauconberg, Viscount,	June 12, 1804
Fairfax, Charles Gregory,	June 13, 1815
Fitzherbert, Thomas,	May 12, 1818
Fraser, Thos. Alex.,	June 10, 1823
Gould, George,	Feb. 11, 1800
Gifford, John,	June 10, 1800
Gillibrand, Thomas,	Feb. 12, 1805
Goldie, Dr.,	May 18, 1813
Gage, John,	May 13, 1817
Gandolfi, Joseph,	May 14, 1822
Ireneage, George,*	April 12, 1792
Ioronyold, Thomas.	
Hawkins, Thomas.	
Howard, Bernard Edwd.	May 10, 1814
Ioronyold, Charles.	
Howard, Henry.	
Ireneage, Thomas.	
Ioward, Edw. C.	
Howard, Henry,	
	May 10, 1814
	June 14, 1825.
	June 13, 1826
	April 24, 1827
	June 12, 1827
	April 12, 1792

ELECTED.		ELECTED.	
Towneley, John.		Turvile, Edward,	June 13, 1826
Tempest, Stephen.		Tichborne, James,	April 24, 1827
Throckmorton, Wm.		Tichborne, Sir Hy., Bart.,	June 12, 1827
Talbot, John,	Mar. 12, 1799	Tempest, Joseph,	June 10, 1828
Talbot, Francis Wm.,	May 14, 1811	Throckmorton, Nicholas,	June 9, 1829
Talbot, John, jun.,	May 12, 1812	Vaughan, John,	May 10, 1803
Turvile, Geo. Fortescue,	May 18, 1813	Wilks, Rev. Joseph,*	April 12, 1792
Turvile, Charles,	June 8, 1813	Witham, Henry.	
Towneley, Peregrine,	May 19, 1815	Walmsley, Thos.,	March 9, 1802
Tucker, Thomas,	Mar. 31, 1818	Wheble, James,	June 12, 1804
Talbot, Lt.-Colonel,	June 9, 1818	Witham, Wm., jun.,	June 13, 1809
Tempest, Charles,	June 8, 1819	Weld, James,	June 9, 1812
Tichborne, Sir Henry,	May 9, 1820	Westor, Thos. Monington,	June 8, 1813
Tempest, John,	May 9, 1820	Wright, John, jun.,	April 4, 1815
Tichborne, Edwd.,	June 13, 1820	Wright, Thomas, jun.,	June 13, 1815
Talbot, James,	June 12, 1821	Webb, Sir Thomas, Bt.,	May 14, 1816
Talbot, George,	May 14, 1822	Walmsley, Thos. Geo.,	June 8, 1819
Tucker, James,	June 14, 1825	Wright, John,	May 11, 1824
Throckmorton, Robert,	April 11, 1826	Webb, Sir Henry,	May 16, 1825
Tempest, Henry,	April 11, 1826	Witham, Michael H.,	April 15, 1828
Towneley, Charles,	June 13, 1826	Witham, Wm. Silvertop,	May 20, 1828

ART. V.—LABOUR AND CAPITAL, LIMITED.

1. *Groundwork of Economics.* By C. S. DEVAS. London. 1883.
2. *Political Economy.* By C. S. DEVAS. (Manuals of Catholic Philosophy, Stonyhurst Series.) London. 1892.
3. *SS. D. N. Leonis XIII. Litt. Enye.* : “*De Conditione Opificum.*”

THE Princess Democratia is making great changes in the world. She has broken the power of kings, and now it is her good pleasure to deal in the like fashion with capitalists. Ground-rents and ground game; market dues and the dukes that own them; the unemployed at both ends of the social scale; the idle rich, as well as the idle poor; the electoral franchise, not as a commodity for sale, but as an instrument of purchase; banks and cunningly devised bankruptcies; rings, trusts, and monopolies of all kinds, including the time-honoured monopoly of land and its resources by a governing class which has refused to govern, except under compulsion or in view of its own interests—all these phenomena of a tangled and inadequate system are passing, as on a limited field-day, under the eyes of the Princess Democratia, who is the mightiest, although still the youngest, of the powers that be. Nor does any one question that if her imperious majesty should decree times and changes, even the extinction of old fundamental forms and laws, she can do according as she will. Limits, indeed, may be assigned to her dominion by the philosopher and the theologian, but they are not the limits of institutions now existing on legal difference. Feudalism has been this long while a picturesque ruin. Monarchies, which once boasted of their right divine, have grown mild and constitutional. The bourgeois system, recognised by Turgot and Adam Smith, is shaking to pieces, while the ground heaves and swells under its ignoble Stock exchange and its cheapest yet dearest market. Votes have been flung in fright or disdain to the millions of workers; and

they are beginning to reckon that votes should mean for them bread, light, shelter, and, in general, what is called civilisation. The right divine of kings has proved, under the strokes of logic and revolution, to be the right of society to govern itself. Rulers confess that they are but servants of "the people." And that which has happened to the power of the sword is happening to the power of the purse. Property, like kingship, must submit to be made constitutional instead of irresponsible and absolute. The divine right to which it appeals cannot involve human wrong. In the language of a noble French Catholic, property is "a social function," with duties traced out for it, and a prerogative inherent in legislation of seeing that they are fulfilled. Property, again I say, is no despotism tempered by the epigrams of the Fabian Society. Unless it answers to its social function constantly and faithfully, as a good ship answers to the helm, it will drift on stormy seas and break on the rocks of anarchy. The late Prince Consort observed once in a memorable sentence, that "Constitutional Government is on its trial." Facts of the most varied description warrant me in saying that "property is on its trial." Ought we to abolish private capital and set up in its stead public capital? That is the question of the day.

We may deal with it historically by considering how private capital has arisen, what benefits the world has derived from it, and what harm it has wrought. We may number its forms and pursue its vicissitudes, in European countries and in America; we may note the boundaries set to it in Russia, China, and India; compare with it the public land system of Bengal, the Mir of the Slavonians, and the tribal tenures of the Celts and other peoples unskilled in the Roman law, or contemptuous of its provisions. And thus we shall bring home to ourselves the great first truth that capital, as we behold it in action during the last hundred years, is not that sacred thing "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," which its unqualified defenders imagine; and that the Roman law, invented by subtle Italian lawyers and enforced at the point of the sword, is just as divine as Russian "village Communism," and not a whit more so. To increase our light and throw a steady beam upon Capitalism in the shape of credit, we may turn to the usury laws of all nations, and in particular during the Middle Ages,

when the statesmen of the Christian Church had a hand in making them. It will be well to ask ourselves also what is the meaning and what the history of mortgages, and whether these are the last words of a progressive civilisation. But in doing so we can scarcely help glancing at the principles on which property has been acquired and is now held—all which will lead us into the boundless, though not necessarily on that account the pathless, fields of philosophic speculation.

At this point we had better look round for a guide. He should be well equipped for his task—an historian, an economist, and a moral philosopher; if possible, also a Christian. For I do not believe that the Princess *Democratia* cherishes the dislike of Christians which is so often imputed to that young enthusiast. She has her own quarrel with Mammon, and she resents in pointed language the alliance which he pretends to have struck up with the New and Old Testaments. But if a Christian economist were presented to her who declared openly that he meant to judge Mammon by the Sermon on the Mount, I am of opinion that he would find her willing to listen, provided always that he kept his word and was not insidiously endeavouring to digest covetousness into a pseudo-science on the one hand, and a pseudo-gospel on the other. Would she then hearken to Mr. Devas, the titles of whose two books I have printed at the head of this article? For a time I think she might, and much to her own benefit; whether in the end she ought to follow in his footsteps I will ask the reader to determine for himself.

As a guide over the wastes of political economy, Mr. Devas, whose other qualifications for his task I need not dwell upon in the columns of this REVIEW, comes forward with a safe conduct from that celebrated Order which in times past resisted the absolute power of kings—witness Suarez and Mariana—nor has any special reason to praise or defend the bourgeois system, from which it has suffered as much as from any monarch. New bankers, parliaments of capitalists, and the secular schools upheld by them have not shown an extravagant devotion to the Society of Jesus. Nor can the Holy See, to which the Society has ever been faithful, regard with complacency a state of widespread suffering and injustice, as depicted in severe and gloomy colours by the reigning Pope when he put forth his

great treatise on economics entitled, "De Conditione Opificum." Property in the abstract is one thing; capitalism in the concrete is quite another. Leo XIII. deprecates revolution; but he denounces unrighteousness. He affirms that it is labour which has created wealth; that the fruits of toil should go to the toiler; that morality must be the rule of the market, and not mere expediency; that under new names usury is flourishing still, and is still a crime against God and man; and that the modern system has thrown into the hands of a few the control of labour and of the world-commerce: "Ita ut opulenti et prædivites perpauci, prope servile jugum infinitæ proletariorum multitudini imposuerint." It was with a view to healing this inhuman and indefensible slavery of the proletarians that Leo XIII. wrote; and with the same view it is that a rational God-fearing democracy will strive to act and legislate. So far the oldest and the youngest of European institutions are in accord.

And therefore a Christian economist, which is the account given of himself by Mr. Devas, may well take heart; for though he should urge great and vital changes in the common way of handling his science, and should even hint—a little more timidly perhaps—at the revision of our present laws touching land, labour, and capital, he cannot be charged with desiring these and the like alterations more ardently than the Holy Father and the Society of Jesus, which has, in a manner, singled *him* out to be its spokesman. He will never be recommending to us the principles of that Socialism which the Pope has defined and condemned; for not every change is revolution in a bad sense; and legislation that will harmonise the claims of private capital with those of the community at large, is alone likely to preserve us from the rash experiments of those who would do away with private capital altogether. The supreme and final power of law-making has now passed into the hands of the enfranchised multitude. Use it they will, wisely or unwisely. But to-day Philip is sober, and may listen to reason; who knows if to-morrow he will not be intoxicated with the sense of his own sovereignty? As the middle class disestablished and disendowed their feudal masters, by Acts of Parliament no less than by Great Rebellions and French Revolutions, so, we must assume as our starting-point, the Democracy is

going about to disestablish and disendow the middle class. And it will be remembered that, in our time, the middle class extends through the House of Lords to the steps of the throne. Our nobles rule, so far as they rule at all, by reason of their wealth, not of their birth. The House of Commons was, and largely is even now, the House of Capital. But it is in process of transformation ; and in the County Councils we may watch, with feelings that vary according to the length of our purse and our balance at the bankers, that very business of disendowment beginning. To write a text-book on property at this hour, in which wide and formidable changes should not be regarded as impending and as in principle warranted, would be to hold an argument with the Atlantic in a gale. Mrs. Partington's economics have had their day. Democratic legislation is coming which will affect all kinds of owners and all kinds of workmen. The serfdom on which our Holy Father cannot bestow a blessing (but rather that which is the reverse of a blessing) will not endure, at all events in its present shape. And it is the duty of a Catholic economist to lay down axioms, to multiply instances, and to resolve problems, so that the legislation now to be devised may become the true expression of reason and righteousness.

In saying which, I suggest that economics is an ethical science ; not vulpine cunning as the instrument of cupidity ; nor the arithmetic of money-making divorced from principle ; nor yet the struggle of individuals to overreach one another according to rule ; and that, as its material foundation is the Democracy, seated in its own land, so its purpose, or final end, is the perfection of the social order in regard to wealth. Discuss the proper method whereby this end may best be attained, we must and ought : that method, however, by its very definition, remains always subordinate to the end, not hostile to it. Distributive justice requires us so to distribute that we may be just, and necessarily demands from us an acknowledgment of the rights of all those who have a place in the organism. If rights are not in question, then mights must settle it ; and, as began by remarking, the Princess *Democratia*, who has now the majority of votes, will in due season have the laws at her disposal, and with them the army, the navy, and the courts of justice. On every ground, I fancy, the appeal had better

be to principles. In other words, economics, which Christians have always looked upon as a branch of morals, is now confessedly such, even though handled by tacticians of the old and orthodox school.

Orthodox! It was a pretty word to conjure with. Heresies in all other departments of thought could be tolerated, only not where money-making was in question. Now the revolt from orthodoxy has wrought sad havoc among Smithians, Ricardians, and Millites themselves; Fawcett has given way, even in competitive examinations, to Walker; Henry George, though an irregular kind of physiocrat, has rooted up the foundations on which he was building his single tax; and there never was such a chaos of contending beliefs in the mid-current of the sixteenth century among reformers, as in the nineteenth we behold, not without amusement, among economists. Mr. Devas, a student of systems at home and abroad, of French, German, and Italian as well as English, brings up his own squadron of assailants to ruin the edifice. Two stately columns it had—the great moral doctrine of Malthus, “Increase not, nor multiply,” on the right hand; the equally great philosophical doctrine of Smith, “There is a fixed wages fund, and the more labourers the less wages for each of them,” on the left. With not nearly so much striving as Samson, Mr. Devas lays a hand on this pillar and on that; and the temple of the Philistines tumbles. It is a fair piece of work as demolition; clear, for all the dust of argument, and one would wish it might have been done for the last time. But man, though a rational animal *in potentia*, to speak with our scholastics, is very seldom such *in actu*. Malthus will require daily to be slain, like the warriors of Odin in Valhalla. Thanks, however to a benignant Providence, which has almost made an end of the wages fund, it is now reckoned an absurdity to talk of capitalists as “supporting” the “hands” that feed and clothe them; nor must even our dissent from Mr. Henry George’s final conclusion lead us to deny the notable service done by him in putting this phantom to flight. I say Mr. Henry George, being mindful of his widespread influence wherever the English language is spoken; but of course I am aware that Lassalle, and after him Karl Marx, set forth the arguments against a wages fund as they are now admitted on all sides.

Capital is due to labour of brain and muscle, and not to the capitalist as such. This theme Mr. Devas, with learning and cogency, explains in his "Groundwork of Economics," and reinforces in the more recent text-book. His capitalist may, or he may not, labour as workman, manufacturer, superintendent, or as all three, but the return of capital, which our author calls "rent" (and an admirable name for it) is not due to him in any of these capacities; it is simply and solely the acknowledgment of a claim. He may "own" thousands of acres in Scotland, or a river in Norway, or but a poor ten pounds' worth of railway stock; nay, perhaps he "owns" nothing at all, and has only a first mortgage for some half-million on the estates of a spendthrift marquis. All this matters not as regards the principle of Capitalism, which is, that irrespective of any labour of his, mental or bodily, past, present, or to come (beyond that mere "apprehension" which is so like Luther's justifying faith without works), he has a right to receive the sum or sums for which he has stipulated, a legal claim to be recognised in hard cash or money down, and that money he may spend as he pleases.

"But hold," some one will object, to whom this account of the capitalist in his own right may appear not only false but grotesque, "surely a man has it in his power to serve society by other than industrial production. Do we not see poets and painters, teachers and preachers, generals, ambassadors, prime ministers, and a thousand more, who with head and hand, though not with shovel or measuring tape, carry on the business of their country, and thus are well entitled to a stipend which shall reward them and hold out an inducement to those who must succeed them one day?" Certainly; but Mr. Devas informs me that such stipends are wages, not rent. In any system wages, or the return of labour, call it by what name you will, must survive. "Rent" is an utterly different thing; it does not reward labour, it acknowledges a claim, or, so to speak, honours a cheque drawn upon the resources which labour has accumulated. How the lucky man came by his cheque, the cashier is not permitted to inquire, so long as the police are satisfied. A capitalist, then, or *rentier*—it is a pity we cannot assimilate this useful word—is one who does nothing, but receives something, to wit, his legal due, from labour past and present,

which, on the supposition, is not his own labour, but that of his debtors. And for it he is bound to make no return of any kind save his own existence. Multiply him by birth or adoption—I would even say by force or fraud—and you have what is known as the “leisured class,” the “golden aristocracy,” the “idle rich,” or, in the flattering language of the census-paper, “gentlemen of independent means.” O fortunati nimium ! One looks through the gilded palisades where they eat the fruits of their abundant idleness, and one envies them at times; but on the whole they give rise to meditations of pity rather than envy, for if the art of production is base and mechanical, that of consumption is a very fine art indeed, left imperfect, I think, by Epicurus, and demanding infinite worlds to satisfy it wholly.

Two things, however, strike me. One is the exceeding clearness with which our author proves that the “rich”—and we shall here take the *rentier* as being “rich” in the proper meaning of the term—are literally created by the “surplus labour” of those who work for them; and the second, how very difficult it is to reconcile their existence with the “social functions” of property on which Mr. Devas dwells with emphasis. If we fall back on the idea that they are all “ministering spirits,” which is implied in describing their wealth as the “reward of superintendence,” it is manifest that when they cease to minister the stipend of their ministry should cease at the same time. Or if it be alleged that they have “realised” their past labour in these legal claims—first, that was not the supposition; and, again, we must inquire by what reasoning any past labour of theirs can be entitled to a perpetual pension on the bank of society? And Mr. Devas laughs to scorn, in some very witty pages, the notion of their riches being the “reward of abstinence,” any more than of exertion. Adam Smith believed that every “frugal man” was *eo ipso* a fortune to his kind; yet Mandeville, holding that “private vices are public benefits,” had given large currency to the idea that an alderman eating his turtle soup, and a pickpocket stealing the alderman’s watch while he did so, illustrated in the most beautiful manner the providential ordering of consumption and distribution. Mr. Devas will allow neither the prodigal nor the skinflint to apologise for

the classes which they severally adorn. Not even his "luxury" shall save the capitalist from being a charge upon the capital which he did not create, does not increase, and has never by his own mere enjoyment distributed. Is "the secret of private enrichment," then, "the appropriation of unpaid labour"? I cannot find this stated in so many words by Mr. Devas. But if he does not intend to "take us into the wilderness and leave us there," I conclude from all his reasoning that he looks upon the "rich" as paying for some men's labour—in what proportion they pay at all—with the labour of some other men, but never with their own; which is, from any point of view, a very remarkable conclusion indeed. I wonder how it will be received in the parliament of labouring men, whether industrial or ministerial, when they have once put themselves into legislative order?

The courteous reader will observe that I am here giving him, though in my own words, not my opinions, but a sketch of Mr. Devas's line of reasoning on "Enrichment and Impoverishment," this "Groundwork," and of his "Apology for the Rich," in his Stonyhurst manual. "Orthodox" economists did their best to show that we cannot dispense with the rich because they labour; or because, at any rate, they save; or because, even if they do not save, they distribute. Mr. Devas replies that they do none of these things, *qua* rich; they merely enjoy and consume. Nor could they consume so much by a long way if not society furnish them with—I was going to write slaves, let us call them—servants, who shall see that their luxuries are well taken care of.

Would a duke live at home with his family [observes our pleasant logician], forbid them the use of any kind of servant, and see how they lapse into the position of poor people, though their income be £50,000 a year. They must live in a cottage, for they cannot keep even a middle-class house clean, much less a palace. They must be chary of washing when a drop of water has to be pumped up by the duke, and carried into the house by the heir; and the meals will be simple, to save the labour of the duchess and her daughters.

All this, the writer calmly goes on to say, is obvious; but lest some incautious disputant should rejoin that, with an income of £50,000 a year, you can always hire cooks and housemaids, he points out a truth which is by no means

so obvious, and which yet on consideration must be granted him—viz., that for one “rich family” to subsist on its “capital,” a number of poor ones must so “utilise the means of production,” as to “get enough to support themselves and have a surplus over that may help to form the revenue of the rich family.” And thus “many hundreds of rich people” may draw their revenue from property worked by many tens of thousands of poor people, without our being able to point out any one in particular of the poor who works more for any one of the rich than for any other. Applying these statements to the definition of the “capitalist” given above, we possess a doctrine of the “un-earned increment” which would have deeply interested John Stuart Mill. For the essential and never-to-be-forgotten point is that this immense “capital,” with its assured “revenue,” is earned by one set of people, and disposed of by another. So much the definition assumes; and in fact, if we may rely upon statistics, although some men “produce” as well as “own” property, the number of those who cannot honestly say that they produce anything whatever, or that by head or hand they contribute to the wealth of England, runs up into the millions. A tender Government allows them to qualify among the toilers on the easiest of terms; but not even so does the multitude of the idle rich shrink within reasonable compass.

We have all been studying the encyclical “*Novarum Rerum*.” And he would be more disingenuous than I have any desire to be, who should not recognise in the Holy Father’s language a vehement condemnation of theories which describe “private property,” or even “private capital,” as not according to the moral and the Christian law. But it should be noted just as clearly that the Pope’s reasoning establishes this legal claim on the man’s own labour and abstinence, or on the services (industrial or ministerial) which the owner of property has rendered to his fellow-men. The idea that “unpaid labour,” that the “surplus” of a man’s toil, may be rightly appropriated by prince or Government, by duke, banker, or tax-gatherer, without a fair equivalent, is not to be found in his pages from beginning to end. On the contrary, he exclaims with great force, “*Id quemquam potiri, illoque perfrui, in quo aliis desudavit, utrumne justitia patiatur?*” And he lays down as a self-evident truth, “*Quo modo effectæ res causam sequuntur a*

ia effectæ sunt, sic operæ fructum ad eos ipsos qui operam derint, rectum est pertinere." So that you have no more right, though a capitalist, to steal the surplus of a poor man's labour, than you have to appropriate to yourself what you take to be the surplus of the same poor man's goods. Of those goods his labour, indeed, is the first and greatest.

These reflections, however, it will be said, suppose private property already in existence. "The fruits to the toiler" may be a sound principle, if he has been toiling upon his own; but if upon what belongs to another, the case is not so simple. I never dreamt that it was, nor am I assailing private property. My intention at present is only this, that Leo XIII defines it to be an injustice when one man appropriates, without an equal return, the labour of another, be it in the shape of profit, or of tax, or of usury. And if so much be allowed, we must eliminate from our Commonwealth all those who give nothing but except their idle lives and luxurious examples. A "leisured class" of drones and parasites ought never to be counted among the social hierarchy. Can no function be assigned to them? Then they should cease to exist. Or is there a service which they can render? Then let their remuneration be fixed according to its dignity and importance.

But I have seldom read more melancholy words, if we only weigh their meaning, than those in which Mr. Devas explains how the number of rich people in England so largely outruns the number of poor in the same country who can possibly support them. "The means of production they control," he says, "and the servant-workmen who turn these to account" — "many of them in some other country," as "in Ireland, Egypt, the West Indies, and, above all, in British India. And thus habitually"—so he concludes—

the money price of imports into England exceeds that of the exports by many tens of millions; while the excess in the number of the rich middle classes in England is in proportion to the deficiency of those classes in those other countries, compared with the immense number of their poor.

England is the great absentee landlord who, having got hook or by crook a legal claim on the labour of three hundred millions of wretchedly poor and feeble serfs, proceeds to manufacture out of the same his villadom with its well-

kept gardens, his watering-places on the South Coast and the Riviera, and those grim paradises of delight which men call London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and Glasgow, and which the gods have lost sight of in their everlasting smoke. But such is Capitalism—in the grand style, Matthew Arnold would say. Is it not evident that our economics (to make no mention of our ethics) have been reducing themselves to iniquity as well as absurdity this long while? And to crown the disaster, all Europe is following the example we have set them. Great fortunes are built on the ruins of honest competence—on a surplus, Mr. Devas!—and great cities on the misery of thousands upon thousands who have been crammed down alive upon one another, to increase the value of tenements, leases, and sub-leases, and most honourable ground-rents. When I consider these things I cannot forbear asking myself who is to determine what surplus shall go, from the hands that made it, to the coffer that shuts tight upon it? And where, in God's name, does it begin? There may be a kind of rich and poor admissible in the system of justice and reason, supposing that by unequal division of goods economic the great ends of society are furthered. But the "few rich" who require for their mere existence an "immense number" of such poor as modern cities breed, and of the hopeless bankrupt populations which abound in all lands where European commerce has thriven, are surely an eloquent refutation of those who cannot fancy there was ever private property not identical with "Capitalism," or who suppose that Leo XIII. has uttered one syllable in defence of this infamous and all-devouring usury.

Nor have the "idle rich" been content to remain idle. By a simple method of turning the screw they have raised rents, withheld resources, and increased the tariffs on industry to such a degree, that whenever our benevolent author comes to suggest remedies for the prevailing distress he must petition that "food and clothing, housing and furniture, at least such as a humane slave-owner would provide for his slaves," be secured to our "free" working men and women. "The advance from rude to civilised conditions," as he feels, may—and facts prove that it will—"mean no advance in culture for the multitude, but retrogression; the vast development of intellectual

all political life being concentrated among the few, while the many become brutalised," unless measures are taken to prevent

Who can doubt the retrogression—physical, moral, and religious—in the vast urban populations of cities boasting their millions; world-capitals like Vienna, Berlin, Paris, New York, all the endless stacks of houses nearer home? The apostasy of the towns from Christian life and conduct is due, in the main, to economic injustice showing itself in the "Wohnungswirth," which almost drives Mr. Devas to despair, and in the future of existence to which that is the frame and canvas, there is not even, as Lassalle imagined, a "normal wage" below the level of which capitalists may not descend; their wages fund has proved to be exceedingly compressible, and "cheap and abundant labour" is capable of driving down compensation to a point where the labourers drop into their graves, and others no less needy spring to take the place they have quitted. Or, in the mathematical but precise language of Jevons, "the value of a commodity is a function of the quantity available," and it will fall to zero when the supply—in instance, of human "servant-workmen"—becomes, in comparison with the demand, unlimited. The classic illustrations of misery, famine, and the inverse ratio of idle rich and starving poor, have long been taken from Ireland; so that I need only refer to McCulloch's eloquent dissertation on the zero-value of millions in the years preceding 1847, to show that even Huxley has recognised its own, though it did not rejoice them.

And now what is the way out of this labyrinth? Or is there none? To the eye of reason, contemplating society as a whole, it would appear that even a ministering class of Capitalists, granting it to be indispensable, should receive in the common stock only a fair wage, and not the enormous wealth they mismanage with the consequences we have seen.

What can be more unreasonable than that the maintenance of a single order in luxury should deprive the workers of their happiness, their morals, and their religion? But when Mr. As was writing his first book he put forward, as a gospel for the poor, one of the most striking applications known to us of the good old High Church doctrine which Catholics are apt to ridicule under the name of "passive obedience." To

the workers he observed that Providence had bidden them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow ; that they had no alternative but to go on working, and were not in the least permitted to claim the produce of their labour, but only "a minimum of sustenance, of rest, and of recreation." For the labourer, in this philosophy, "has no right to more of it"—that is to say, of the produce which his hand and brain have realised—"than *this* quantity, nor yet any right to refuse to produce more than this quantity." I should like to put to the conscientious author Pope Leo's question once more, "Id quemquam potiri, illoque perfriui, in quo aliis desudavit, utrumne justitia patiatur?" Because a man is bound to earn his own bread, is he therefore bound to earn bread for some one else? And does the command to labour affect only the labouring class? Why, again, must any one, high or low, continue working to produce a "surplus" which is not to come to himself? Yet, again remarks Mr. Devas, the surplus may bring him "help and protection," or "only "scorn and neglect," but

all this is not his concern ; it is not for him to discuss the mysterious dispositions and permissions of divine Providence ; and if those who hold power in the society in which he lives misuse what may be said to be his contribution to the life of that society, it is not for him to murmur or to punish. There is One who sees, and who in His own time will bring all to account.

Is it not curious to hear, on the lips of a Catholic, those very accents which we remember in Archbishop Laud, James I., and Henry VIII., touching the duties of subjects, the rights unlimited of their pastors and masters, the adjournment of human causes to the last day, and Providence invoked as the direct and immediate author of certain men's dealings with their fellows? How these gentlemen came by their "surplus" we are not to ask, for it is covered by "prescription." And how they employ it, whether to starve or feed us, remains between them and the Almighty ; our daily task, our common round, is to go on producing the same. Happily this appeal to Providence, which certainly Providence never suggested, met with the favour it deserved two hundred and fifty years ago, while, since then, passive obedience has been developed into the elective franchise, and the workers who "may be said" to contribute to the life of the society

which in a single twelve months would fall to mere rubbish without them, are now called upon to legislate through their representatives, and must, in consequence, not perhaps "murmur," but assuredly search into and, where need is, "punish" the infractions of social justice. To speak quite within bounds, the existence of an irresponsible wealthy class

England, or anywhere else, is no more providential than those famines which, according to Mr. Devas, have been produced by false political economy and *laissez-faire*. A

social organism which could not "murmur and punish," when most powerful members were eating up the lives of the great majority, would be in a rapid way to extinction. The principle laid down by Aristotle and St. Thomas, and repeated in the Pope's Letter, "unam civitatis esse rationem, communem inmorum atque infimorum," if duly pondered, will lead us to understand that there is no class whatever which may appeal from its responsibility to a Providence whose intervention in this world it is careful to preclude. Society is bound to consult, not merely its own preservation, but the well-being of all its members. And they, in turn, are bound by justice, affection, and patriotism to render it reasonable service according to their various powers. Hence the ideal of a commonwealth is that where each one receives in proportion to his needs, not imagined, but ascertained, and where he gives in proportion to his faculties, sharing in the good of all, and in turn bestowing good on them.

Nor would Mr. Devas call these doctrines in question as I think; for in his Stonyhurst volume he pictures the higher classes of society as cultivating art, science, literature, government, and the beauties and charities of religion, with a view to the general welfare. And this indeed will be their sole justification as a permanent order which, if it be wanting, the condition of all, says Leo XIII., might be equal, but would be "que misera et ignobilis." Any member of the body politic which declines to fulfil its duty, and consumes without producing or distributing, must speedily become a parasite, and then, if it is not cut away, the whole body will suffer. Once it is the very business of government, whether by law or custom, to provide against such misuse. And in modern countries, when law and custom are without effect, revolution

is at the doors. Thus, to return to our author, greatly as he insists in one book on the virtue of passive obedience, in the next he draws out nine principles of reformation to which society must attend. In the "Groundwork" he had exalted *laissez-faire* to sublime heights, as far as the interposition of the working class to remedy abuses was concerned. But in the "Political Economy" strenuous efforts are recommended so to enlarge "official relations," to restrain "mobile," and to legislate for "corporative," as once more to build up a hierarchy of industries and ministries that shall meet with the Christian's approval. And a great many of these things are to be done (while all may be supervised) by that very government which, given the popular franchise, is nothing else than the working class legislating with supreme authority and seeing that its will is carried out. "The worst form of government imaginable," some one will tell me. But is it an unjust form of government? That is the question. At any rate Mr. Devas holds that "free competition," "monopoly prices," an "unrestricted labour market," and every other kind of *laissez-faire*, must be limited by the general good of the community which it is the office of legislation to protect and promote. Before the rich can appropriate their "surplus" he contends that they are in duty bound to allow those who produce it a minimum subsistence-wage; but in defining the minimum he strives to be just and even generous. The "humane slave-owner" will accordingly submit to Factory and Education Acts; he will be compelled by law to provide subsistence for his workmen and workwomen all the year round; he will see that they have decent homes to live in, and will so remunerate them that Christian marriage at a fitting age may be possible to them; and for all this he will be legally responsible ere he touches the gain they bring him. On the other side he will give them a share in his own culture and refinement, while the laws of the country will allow them some direct concern in the management of their parish, town, and electoral district. Moreover, to alleviate accidental misfortunes and calamities not provided against in the Code, there will be abundant alms-giving from the surplus which the well-to-do have laid up.

Thus, it appears, we none of us can escape the temptation

ff sketching a Utopia, and Mr. Devas as little as Mr. Bellamy
Sir Thomas More. But the instruction I would draw for
myself from these earnest, no less than amusing, pages may
be summed up in a brace of questions. Are you prepared to
follow your principle of the social organisation of industry as
far as it will carry you? And how do you propose to effect
these changes? As regards my first inquiry, the doctrine of
private capital, so I gather, is to be interpreted and applied on
the axiom of the public good, and "irresponsible" private
property can no longer be admitted. Why? Surely because
labour and capital are both "social functions"; not in an
exclusive sense, as though individuals wrought only for the
state and not for themselves, but in a reciprocal sense, implying
that by the distinction of industries and ministries, of
mental and manual offices, the greatest *economic* good is
produced, and the highest *human* good made possible to everyone,
according as he can receive it. On some such principle,
express it how we may, the various expedients—whether of
law, as in "prescription," or of economics, as in a just and
properly limited "rent," for a certain class of ministers—are
capable of defence, taking into account the stage of society to
which they correspond. All the paper-constitutions in the
world will not enfranchise a people who have neither the wit
nor the strength to be free; and, in like manner, the rights of
public property, or the "unearned increment," will be left in the
hands of capitalists so long as the public itself does not know
how to safeguard them. That is, at present, the true function
of the rich who do not minister by their personal toil to the
commonwealth, but "only stand and wait."

They are, of course, immensely overpaid, to the loss of those
from whom they take the good of living. And, in the same
proportion, the real "superintendents" are immensely under-
paid. I am myself disposed to pity the proletarians in black
suits as much as I pity the proletarians in frieze and fustian.
Both classes alike are products of a tyrannous past. Mr.
Devas reminds me, indeed, that the past cannot be healed.
How is it, then, with the future? Is there no principle at
work which is striving to shape things in a juster mould?
Look at this series of historical words—"slavery, serfdom,
guilds, and trade-unions;" and at these—"co-operation, profit-
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sharing, rings and trusts, fixed prices, and boards of arbitration"—what will the next words be in this development? On both sides we are passing through competition to combination. Capitalism has thrown out sleeping-partners who eat their dividends, and waking-partners who pile up their own profits. The working classes have begun to see that only by association can they arrive at freedom. And while the anarchy of doctrine is unbounded, over the chaos broods that reconciling idea to which Leo XIII. has once more given form and voice, that labour and capital concur to a social end which determines their respective rights as well as their duties. We were told long ago by the *Times* that "the end of all commerce is individual gain." We now see that it is "the glory of God and the relief of man's estate."

But from this it follows that the "receivers," and not the "producers," are called upon, under present circumstances, to make concessions. Already they have surrendered no small part of their political dominion. Innumerable Acts of Parliament have cut down their "freedom of contract," limited the supply of "cheap and abundant labour," and put a stop to the indefinite accumulation of private capital. Thus I perceive some kind of answer to my second inquiry. Great changes in favour of the working multitude may come to pass under the influence of revolution, or religion, or legislation. At present the Democracy has more faith in law than in barricades; but of religion it knows, for the most part, only by hearsay. In our Stonyhurst manual, as was fitting, religion is given the first place; and we may hope that by showing it has had no hand in building up the capitalist system we shall secure it the first place in the new public order, as the thoughts of men are widened and they turn to rational account the resources left them by their ancestors. Legislation, however, must be the direct method whereby industries and ministries are adjusted to their social functions, and the parasitical rich made to contribute their share in the Commonweal. Not that law will lead us into the Promised Land or discover the Garden of Eden. Neither can the "providence of the State" make up for the providence of the family, or suppress individual genius and talent, imprisoning men in phalansteries and asylums for the imbecile. These are reminiscences from a youthful time which

painted the sky without heeding the weather. Just because we are more hopeful we can afford to be more modest: and George Eliot's excellent word "Meliorism" should be good enough for us.

To establish "free contract" in Ireland it was necessary that the public authorities should hold the balance even in a Court. So will it be, more and more, on this side of St. George's Channel. With Mr. Devas I prefer custom to law, and religion to legislation, provided the religion be humane and the custom fair. But where "the private bonds that link men together are weakest," as he truly observes, we shall always be likely to find the "one bond of social union" the State. I do not believe, indeed, that there is no refutation of levelling Socialism except in the appeal to an inscrutable Providence and revealed truth. Any Socialism which denies the great variety of human talents, or which would blow away history with the breath of its nostrils, is as irrational as it is Utopian. The doctrine of private property, united by that social organism which now alone makes it possible, and has therefore a right to regulate its acquisition and its use, can well defend itself, whenever the "dura et niosa servitus civium," which Leo XIII. cries out against, is threatening us either in its proletarian or its capitalist form. I know that when we have done our utmost we shall still have no abiding city, or Paradise of Positivists, beneath the sky. But just laws, suited at once to the complexity as well as the simplicity of modern relations, can, I believe, attain to us, that in countries calling themselves Christian mankind shall no longer be divided into slaves on one side and slave-masters on the other, with little else than a criminal code to hinder them from lapsing into barbarism. Property will always be sacred when it observes the moral law. When it does not it ceases to be human; and in that measure the fine sanction is sure to be withdrawn from it.

WILLIAM BARRY.

ART. VI.—A PASSAGE IN THE HISTORY OF CHARLES I.

Hardwicke State Papers ; “ MSS. in Record Office.”

VERY little has been said or written about the foreign policy of Charles I. As a rule, it is hardly supposed that he had one at all. It is thought that a king whose country was heaving with the elements of rebellion, a king who numbered among his subjects a Cromwell, a Pym, and a Hampden, and who was engaged in constant disputes with his Commons, would be too entirely occupied in governing his own territory, to desire the further burden of the territory of others. Yet that Charles at one time actually indulged a light-headed and unlawful desire for annexation, and that not among far-off isles or the hunting-grounds of the red man, but just on the other side of the narrow sea, is as certain as that he afterwards quarrelled with his Parliament and lost his head in consequence. The fact has for some time been known to a few students of history, though it has never been elucidated fully or correctly.

It is always with regret that one writes anything derogatory to Charles I. His tragic fate royally borne, the virtuous private life, which contrasts so refreshingly with that of his father and son, his refined tastes, not to say the dignity and beauty of his portraits by Van Dyck and Rubens (for we are human), render him in some sort an ornament to kinghood. But he was lacking in two qualities which bind the other virtues together and complete the character of the perfect man, cavalier, and king—sincerity and stability. Not one of his race had both of these ; few had either of them. Hallam, in his “ Constitutional History of England,” threw a side-light on the foreign policy of Charles, if anything so *décousu* can be called a policy at all. After touching on a secret alliance against the States of Holland and Zeeland which Charles concluded with Philip IV. of Spain, in 1631, through Sir Francis (afterwards Lord) Cottington, his Ambassador at Madrid, and by which treaty he was to have had Zeeland for his own when

the two kings should jointly have conquered it, Hallam goes on to refer to the intrigue entered on by Charles during the very next year with Philip's subjects against Philip. So far Hallam is correct; but, brief as is his notice of an episode which only bears collaterally on his own subject, he has contrived to couple it with an inaccuracy of detail which has caused some foreign writers to question the truth of the whole passage. M. Théodore Juste, who wrote a very able monograph on the conspiracy of the Belgian *noblesse* against Spain in 1632, remained hopelessly perplexed as to the part clandestinely taken by Charles I. in the intrigues of the discontented Provinces. He found indications of the interference of Charles, but no authoritative confirmation of the fact. After mentioning the accusation levelled against the Princes d'Espinoy, de Brabançon, and de Bouronville, of having treated in disguise with the English Minister at Brussels, M. Juste remarks that such a denunciation

Would seem to prove that English diplomacy was no stranger to the plots of the Belgian *noblesse*; nevertheless, it is impossible now to affirm whether or not an English party really existed, and we can only conjecture what was the amount of interference and what the actual object of Charles and his Government.

M. Juste had evidently not read the extracts from the correspondence of Charles I. and his ambassador Gerbier, which Lord Hardwicke published in 1778; still less the MS. letters in the State Paper Office, a study of which reveals much more than can be gathered from the extracts alone. It was on these last only that Hallam based all that is true in his statement, but he added thereto another assertion which I shall notice in its place, and the groundlessness of which discredited his whole story in the eyes of MM. Juste, Gachet, and others.

In the year 1632 Belgium was under the government of the just and prudent Archduchess Isabel, daughter of Philip II. This princess inherited from her father his tireless industry, without the narrowness of mind which spoiled so much of Philip's work. Foreign ambassadors, whether Papal Nuncios, or French or English envoys—nay, even her hereditary enemies, the house of Nassau themselves—agreed together in lauding the virtues of “la bonne Infante.” She was now sixty-six years of age, and notwithstanding her merits had fallen on those evil

days which seemed to be the lot of all who governed the Netherlands, for some time she had waged the old traditional war against Holland successfully and even gloriously. Her bold and trenchant military ideas, could they have been carried out, might have cut short that long and desultory struggle. But, unfortunately, she had not control of the sinews of war themselves. The now inert Spanish monarchy was vested in the solemn stupid Philip IV., a king incapable of acting boldly or striking a decisive blow. Ruled by ministers hardly more intelligent than himself, he thwarted and suspected his aunt at Brussels, and sent incompetent nobles to command the armies which the great Spinola had formerly led to victory. The consequence was that town after town, territory after territory, fell into the hands of the Dutch under Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange; and the entire conquest of the Belgian Provinces appeared for a time inevitable.

Then a confused tangle of malcontent parties arose in Belgium, all clamorous for some way of escaping from the rule of Spanish ministers on the one hand and from subjugation by Holland on the other.

In the era of loyalty under the Archdukes, the Belgians, excepting only the Walloons, fought but seldom; the names of the slain officers on the dunes of Nieuport and in the trenches of Ostend were mostly those of noble Spanish and Italian houses. The "obedient" Provinces were also too miserably divided in political opinion for a combined effort. Their only hope, therefore, lay in the help of surrounding nations. One powerful party sprang up in 1632 which looked for independence through the help of France in alliance with Holland herself. Their idea was that to grasp their Dutch nettle would be to deaden its sting; they would make Holland help them to become "Free States," bringing France into the contract to prevent the United Provinces from taking a mean advantage of the situation. Other nobles, however, mindful of what Flanders had suffered at the hands of the Duke of Anjou after his aid was solicited in 1578, preferred to make England their guiding star.

Now, ever since the Archdukes concluded a peace with James I. in 1605, Isabel had been on the most amicable terms with the English Court. With Anne of Denmark,

mother of Charles I., she had maintained a correspondence so sympathetic that although the two ladies had never seen each other, they used the terms of tender friendship. James himself always had the highest opinion of the Infanta's abilities and good faith, and after the conquest of the Palatinate, its capital town, Frankenthal, was "sequestered," or placed in trust in her hands at his request. She was one of the most ardent promoters of the proposed match between Charles and her niece, the Infanta Maria, looking on it as at once a source of strength to the Spanish Empire and as the surest means of relieving the English Catholics from the penal laws. The brief war between England and Spain, which followed the rupture of the marriage treaty, broke off for a time these friendly relations between the Courts of London and of Brussels, though Isabel had failed in no pacific endeavour, and Charles, now King of England, never mentioned her except in terms of affection and respect. On the renewal of peace he appointed Sir Balthazar Gerbier as his representative at Brussels. A creature of the Duke of Buckingham, whose Master of the Horse he had been; an accomplished linguist, an enthusiastic *virtuoso*, a clever shallow writer of amusing letters, every line of which betrays his cleverness and his shallowness, a born intriguer; Gerbier was the very man to enter into a conspiracy with gusto and with tact.

Belgian discontent with Spain was at its height in the summer of 1632. Orange had conquered a great part of Gueldres, which its Governor de Berg conveniently left at his mercy; he was laying siege to Maestricht, which the Spanish generals seemed incapable of relieving; the conquests of Alexander Farnese and of Spinola were being lost one by one through the incompetence of those who had succeeded to their bâtons. Several Flemish nobles had withdrawn to France or to Liège in open rebellion; seditious broadsides were scattered hither and thither in Brussels; a flag bearing the vacuous portrait of Philip IV. had been dragged down from the Hotel de Ville and torn in pieces, and, according to Gerbier's letters, only the love and reverence which the people bore to the Archduchess, and the vigorous measures which she took, prevented a general insurrection. It were hard to say whether the order

of the clergy, of the nobles, or of the people, hated Spain most bitterly.

During these summer nights, scenes of dramatic mystery were taking place at the house of Sir Balthazar Gerbier. A personage in masque and hood presented himself at the door, after tracing a cross on the first window of the ground floor; he was at once admitted, and often spent great part of the night in converse with the English Ambassador. The object of this trag-i-comedian, of whose identity Gerbier himself was for some time kept in ignorance, was to secure the assistance of Great Britain in an attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. He said that he represented a large party of nobles, who were agreed in desiring the alliance of England as a counterbalance to the influence of France. No news could have been more agreeable to Gerbier; but he was very wary at first, fearing a trap; nor could he repress a feeling of contempt for the said Belgian nobles, who even at this first opening of their business, began to demand titles and ribbons of the English king. The masqued man told him, he says, that "they were in no small emulation for points of honour, expecting no less from His Majesty than as the King of Spain had honoured them with the Golden Fleece."

The mysterious Belgian gentleman invited Sir Balthazar to meet him and other masqued friends at a certain country house, and communicate to them the views of Charles, so soon as he should receive the *mot d'ordre* from St. James's. He also requested him to bring an authorisation from the king, couched in the following words:—"We authorise the bearer of the present to give such assurances to our beloved friends and neighbours, the States of the Netherlands, as are necessary for their safety and preservation."

Gerbier was extremely circumspect in his reply, not wishing to give Philip and the Archduchess cause to complain that he was caballing with their subjects. But he wrote off in high glee to learn the sentiments of Charles.

Nothing, it must be admitted, could be more unsentimental. The king jumped at the bait, none the less eagerly because the jump was not a very straight one, being rendered somewhat undecided by Stuart vacillation. He wanted to take advantage of the situation without appearing to be mean or covetous, to

annex the possessions of the King and Archduchess while yet remaining in amity with those princes. His letter to Gerbier, which must have perplexed even that roundabout diplomatist, is a curious specimen of insincere intentions and confused ideas.

The King began by saying that it hurt his honour and conscience to give the King of Spain just cause of quarrel against him;

And a juster he cannot have, than deboshing of his subjects from their allegiance.

But since I see a likelihood, almost a necessitie [Charles continued], that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other King's or State's protection, and that I am offered without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein, the second consideration is, that it were a great imprudence in mee to let slip this occasion, whereby I may both advantage myself and hinder the overflowing greatness of my neighbours.

Charles, indeed, came to the conclusion that Philip ought to thank him for taking over his provinces, rather than let them fall into the hands of either his enemies or his rebels. The powers asked for by Gerbier were, therefore, conceded, and he was further authorised to treat with the disguised persons, and promise them in his master's name, rather ambiguously it must be owned, "protection against aniebodie but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world as from inimies." Exact secrecy must be observed on both sides.

Treasurer Coke also suggested to Gerbier a few baits to be held out to the different orders in Flanders, to draw them towards an English, rather than a Dutch, alliance. The English King would advance the nobles, who, on the contrary, would be subject to affronts among those "*bouwers* (boers) where all are equal." Then, the Dutch Calvinist clergy depended on voluntary contributions, and when Flanders should be under Dutch rule the Catholic priesthood might be reduced to the like estate. This solicitude for the Catholic clergy seems slightly out of place in Charles, in whose reign so many English priests were executed or imprisoned for no other offence than their orders. On the other hand, Coke added very truly that "the Dutch would have been able to do nothing against Spain without the help of England's martial

people," and altogether he drew a very flattering picture of the prosperity which would flow among all orders of the Belgian nation from the beneficent hands of Charles.

Gerbier now saw his way more clearly. Armed with his authorisation, he sought the chateau indicated as the trysting-place of the conspirators, where he was met by five disguised men. Their first step was a very politic one. They began by showing to the English Ambassador a letter signed by the Duke of Guise, in which he promised the protection of France to the Provinces.

Balthazar Gerbier hated France as only a man of French extraction could hate it. He was ever haunted by fears of the evil to come if the perennial Gallic designs on Belgium should be carried out. On seeing Guise's letter he temporised no longer, but immediately exhibited the autograph of King Charles, and told the nobles that he was much surprised to find the doings of a Duke of Anjou, fifty years before, already forgotten. It would be better, he said, to be conquered by the United Provinces (who had been politic enough to concede religious liberty to the newly annexed territory) than by "a nation so fierce and so inconstant as the French." The masqueraders assured Sir Balthazar that they preferred the protection of Great Britain to either, and he in his turn wrote to his sovereign :

I can assure your Majesty that these States offer to place in my hands absolute means of rendering your Majesty master of this business, to the exclusion of the French; so that if the Spaniards fail to obtain a truce, they will find themselves excluded for ever from these countries.

But there was yet another power, though a small one, to be reckoned with in the disposition of the Provinces. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, was the widower of the Infanta Catherine, younger daughter of Philip II., and he considered, one hardly knows why, that his son was the lawful heir to all the duchies and counties of the Netherlands. He professed, however, his unwillingness to disturb the Archduchess Isabel with his claim; his intention was to press it after her decease, and in the meanwhile he had sent the Abbate della Scaglia to Brussels to act as his minister and to watch events. Scaglia indeed gave out that he was there rather to serve the Archduchess than the Duke of Savoy; but his dealings with Gerbier

show what manner of service he was likely to render to Isabel. He and Gerbier were well matched; it was diamond cut diamond with this pair of smiling, intriguing, chattering, and spying ministers. Scaglia was anxious that Charles should intervene in the truce negotiation, so that if arranged at all, it should be made, as the phrase went, by *Via Regia*; and Gerbier, while making use of him on this ground, concealed from him for the present all those stirring episodes of the nocturnal conferences and trysts at the chateau beyond the gates. His confabulations with Scaglia, however, were duly reported by him to his friends at the country houses. By this time he knew who some of them were. The identity of the first conspirator, of him who came to Gerbier's window by night, was only revealed to him under a solemn vow of secrecy, but the others seem to have made less mystery, and in one of his letters he enclosed two of their names on a separate slip of paper. On the margin of this letter we find written in the King's own hand, "Comtes d'Egmont et Warfusé, le Chef des Finances." This side-light is rather surprising, for both those nobles were supposed at the time to belong to the French party. Egmont soon afterwards fled to France, where he died a few years later; and the fate of the worthless Warfusé was to be torn to pieces by an infuriated mob at Liège, in punishment for his foul murder of their burgomaster. Gerbier himself had a profound contempt for his masqued nobles, with their desire of Stars and Garters, their aimless ferocity and inherent helplessness. The most politic and noughtful of the Belgians, he openly told the king, would give themselves to nobody, but aimed only at being "Free Catholic States," under the joint protection of England and France. However, the aggrandisement of His Majesty was the principal thing to be looked to, and Gerbier first sent his secretary, then went himself, to London to lay the state of things before the King. Lovers of Old London may be interested to know that his postal address in town was "the house of Jean Baptiste Feryn the Queene's perfumer dwelling in drury-lane (sic) near the horse-showe Tavern."

Gerbier found Charles exceedingly bent on assuming the rabantine and Flemish coronets without thereby incurring quarrel with the actual possessors of those costly and

troublesome baubles. Never before or since was a monarch so anxious to annex the states of others, and yet so full of refined consideration for those whom he was going to despoil. He told Gerbier, walking in St. James's Park, that he thought the Archduchess would be able to hold her own against invasion during the ensuing summer at least ; and, the better to enable her to do so, he refused permission to the Dutch to recruit in his dominions that year, although the Archducal officers were allowed to buy their quota of English mercenaries, according to the extraordinary custom prevalent at that time between neutral states. "Your Majesty," Gerbier wrote to him afterwards *à propos* of this prohibition, "makes good your own prophetic."

Nevertheless, the strange, inconsistent fraud was still being carried on by King and Minister. And here it is necessary to enter into a circumstance which lends an additional interest to the elucidation of this curious passage in history. I refer to Hallam's assertion that in these intrigues a great man was involved, with whose name we are accustomed to associate only what is most honourable to human nature. In a quite gratuitous parenthesis Hallam says that "one whom we should little expect to find in these paths of conspiracy, Peter Paul Rubens, was the negotiator [of this intrigue]." And then he refers to the Hardwicke extracts, in none of which, nor yet in Gerbier's unpublished correspondence, does a word occur suggestive of Rubens' complicity in the plot. Rubens, who had long been court painter to the Archdukes, always treated by them with the most considerate attention, and often employed as an envoy to foreign courts, was in full political activity during the years 1632-33 as the confidential agent of the Archduchess Isabel. He was much engaged at Antwerp and the Hague, in trying to negotiate a truce on her part with the United Provinces, and his name naturally occurs very often in contemporary correspondence, but nearly always in this character. He was a devoted servant of Isabel, and suffered in her cause what must have been keen humiliations to a man of genius. As her special envoy, he had to endure the stupid rudeness of great Belgian nobles who were seeking the same truce on behalf of the States-General, especially the Duke of Aerschot. This *grand seigneur*, though less seditious

than an Espinoy or a Warfuzé, was yet an insecure politician, and a blatant talker, when flushed with wine—a man, in short, who more or less maintained those traditions of a tipsy weathervane which had long ago gathered round the title of Aerschot. He thought fit to insult the great painter because Rubens had not shown him papers relating to the negotiation between Isabel and Orange; in an egregiously insolent letter he reminded him that they were not equals, and expressed a hope that Rubens would learn “how persons of his sort ought to comport themselves towards persons of the Duke’s sort.” That the Duke and Rubens were not equals, the few students of history who so much as know that Aerschot ever existed will certainly admit.

I have gone into this digression to show that Rubens was entirely occupied in serving Isabel, at the very time when his modern accusers would have it that he was trying to sell her territory to Charles I. It is well known how Rubens had previously visited London, how he went there as Isabel’s envoy, how the art-loving Charles patronised and knighted him, and what were the fruits of his labours in our country. It is also known that he was on terms of friendship with Gerbier, based on artistic sympathy and love of curios. But these very intimacies render Hallam’s story the more improbable. For, had Rubens been “the negotiator” of the treason—and if he was he could be no other than the masqued man himself—Gerbier would not have been mystified as he was at his first initiation into the conspiracy, nor would he, in his turn, have mystified the king himself as he did for a time in consequence of his oath to conceal the identity of his visitor. Gerbier mentioned Rubens at this time very frequently as the agent of the attempted truce, and *once only* in connection with his own Anglo-Flemish conspiracy. The passage is among the Hardwicke extracts, and is in this wise. Gerbier writes word to Secretary Coke that the Archduchess had put off assembling the States-General (whom, however, she convoked shortly afterwards, on the 9th of September, 1632),

by reason of advertisements received from Nicolaldi [Spanish resident] in England, which were to the effect that of all her nobles, only the Duke of Aerschot remained faithful to Spain. The Infanta

summoned, therefore, the States to a secret council, and showed them the letters "in which there was set down in express terms that upon some conference between persons in England advertisement was given that upon the loss of Maestricht these States should cast off the Spanish government." The Infanta showed said letters to Sir Peter Rubens, who told me that they bore such information as would hazard the lives of many in this country.

It is inconceivable that this passage, which still, as ever, shows Rubens in the light of the Infanta's confidential agent, and which does not bear so directly on the Anglo-Flemish plot as on the general disloyalty of the Belgian *noblesse*, should have been tortured into a proof of the artist's guilt. It is said, whether correctly or not, that there is no calumny without some grain of sand by way of foundation; such a grain, in this case, may have been the fact that Rubens, sometime previously, had made a voyage to England in his private or artistic capacity only. M. Emile Gachet, who gave to the world the "Lettres inédites de P. P. Rubens" indignantly rejects Hallam's accusation. "That the devoted servant of Isabel," he says, "he who hitherto, like his mistress, had bravely submitted to the hard law of destiny, that Rubens should suddenly have forgotten the Infanta, and sold his services to England! This seems to us incredible." M. Gachet, indeed, is at more pains to defend his hero from the counter-accusations which the "Liberal" *coterie* have often levelled against him, that of *not* having joined any of the parties who sought to deliver their country from the yoke of Spain. But he concludes that it was more creditable to Rubens to hold aloof from so frivolous, vain, noisy, and incompetent a crew, as the Belgian patriots of those days showed themselves in the face of Europe to be.

To return to the English King and his Ambassador. During the spring of 1633 Charles was still hoping and Gerbier intriguing. Maestricht had fallen, and all hopes of a truce between the Dutch and Belgian Provinces had been brought to an end by the excessive demands of the former and the hesitations of the latter; but on the other hand Isabel had strengthened her frontiers, and had taken such prompt measures with regard to some of the traitor nobles as to cause a degree of dismay among the rest. Also, the death of Gustavus

dolphus renewed, to some extent, the hopes of the House of Austria. Yet was the position of the Archduchess, wedged between hostile Holland, aggressive France, and intriguing England, a most critical and uncertain one. There was still “French party” in the land, but Richelieu now aimed rather at conquering Belgium in alliance with Holland than at gaining through help of the malcontent nobles, whose vanity and incapacity he does not spare in his “*Mémoires*.” An offensive alliance between France and Holland against the House of Austria was, however, the last thing that Charles I. desired. If some one must plunder his brother the King of Spain, and is “good sister and aunt,” the Infanta, it ought to be himself, for he had already proved in his letters how much more compelling it is to be plundered by friends than by enemies. In April, 1633, he sent a strict command to Gerbier, through secretary Coke, to break the oath which he had taken, and reveal in confidence to the king alone the name of his mysterious friend who was desirous of becoming a British subject. Sir Balthazar manifested the tenderness of his conscience by devoutly hoping that his oath of allegiance to his sovereign would be held to supersede all lesser vows; and forthwith enclosed the name on a separate slip of paper in a private letter, partly cipher, to the king. Probably the king turned the postscript; at least it is not to be found, and the world is fated to remain in ignorance of the dramatic masquerader’s identity. Whatever his name, there can be no doubt from the mystery surrounding it, that he was a very great personage, as Belgian nobles went. This is not the same as saying that he was a great man. Probably the name was either Espinoy, Brabançon, or Bournonville, or that of some near relation of one of these nobles, who were all opposed to be in the English interest. It made an impression, however, on Charles, who now showed symptoms of proceeding to extremities. His instructions to Gerbier became most decided in their tone.

“The main thing,” Charles and his ministers concluded, was to get troops in or about the Catholic Provinces; but, at the same time, the king repeated to his envoy the old attitudes about the impropriety of seducing the subjects of Philip IV. from their allegiance.

Nevertheless [Secretary Coke added] in case they desire his Majesty's assistance or protection, you may assure them, in his name, that on such declaration to him by a public minister having power to give fit conditions for safe landing, quarter, and retreat, he will presently send them sufficient forces to their defence, and will protect them in their goods, liberties, trade, and religion, against all men, and means not only to maintain, but much to increase them.

Thus Charles, who at home was so tender of the liberties, civil and religious, of his own subjects!

In a copious "Note," Coke further elucidates the king's real designs as clearly as it is possible to explain plans so curiously involved and so utterly impracticable. The nobles, both spiritual and temporal, were to be assured of his Majesty's favour, "not only preserving them in their dignities and estates, but for hopes of their advancements whereof they would be capable under a potent King, but not under a popular State." The merchants must be reminded that as citizens of free States their traffic would be under the control of Holland, who held the mouth of the Scheldt; and a "secret offer of alliance," which, as appears from this letter, "some members of the mercantile class had made to England, was to be accepted." Moreover, Coke's plans for making King Philip and the Archduchess willing instruments of their own dethronement, and so avoiding that hostile encounter which a burglarious entrance into their dominions could not but entail, are quite phenomenal in their mingled *naïveté* and ingenuity. King Charles, he thought, "might make use of his alliance with the Spaniards who already possessed the government and the arms."

To treat with the Spaniards for an absolute resignation [the Treasurer very sagely continued] is not worth the while, and to descend to give them aid for their own subsistence is not worth the cost. There remain but two ways. The first is to get from them in Flanders what we can by way of deposition, to be held by our arms, and restored by such reimbursement or other satisfaction as shall be fit. *The other is to receive that Earldom and what other may be gotten, by way of investiture,* with a reserved homage and recognition of that King as Duke of Burgundy, in such sort as Normandy was long held of France.

The Spanish resident in London and the Abbate della Scaglia were, in some way unexplained, to be the instruments of this startling change. It would appear that Scaglia had really made a handsome offer to England "of some of the

inland provinces," an offer which, as Coke wisely observed, was not otherwise remarkable than as a proof of willingness to give something; and an attempt must be made to bring the enterprising minister of Savoy into England. A bribe to be paid out to the Spanish government was "the safe convoy and transportation of the Spaniards into their country, which otherwise than by his Majesty they could not hope for;" the passes of Savoy, apparently, through which formerly Spanish armies had retired into Italy, being closed by concerted arrangement against Philip's troops.

Here, then, was Charles, ready and anxious to take over a very ungovernable continental country, and prepared, moreover, to assume the position of a vassal, holding the "Earldom" of Flanders from the King of Spain, as Normandy had been held from the King of France until the Plantagenets considered themselves to have annexed that kingdom altogether. The full consent of Spain to her own spoliation was to be given, in consideration of her expelled troops sailing down the Channel in safety!

The whole scheme reads like a child's romance. The government of the Archduchess Isabel had indeed sustained numerous defeats, but was not in such straits that it must needs barter away its "Earldoms" and its duchies. Throughout the autumn and spring Isabel had been making unheard-of efforts to save her nephew's possessions; she pawned her jewels, she prevailed on the States-General to grant supplies, she raised levies and strengthened fortresses, and her great French opponent, Richelieu, has left it on record that her energy, no less than the incapacity of Belgian malcontents, was instrumental in checking the designs of France. The designs of England were fated to be checked also.

In the summer of 1633 the whole Anglo-Flemish plot somehow became known to Isabel and to Philip. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, later in his career, declared to the world that Lord Nottingham, the Ambassador at Madrid, had betrayed it to the Spanish Court. But at the time Gerbier himself held a different opinion. His conviction, in August 1633, was that after all the oaths of secrecy exacted from himself, all the mysterious signs and masqued faces, and melodramatic attitudes of the Belgian conspirators, one or more of themselves

revealed the plot to the Archduchess, as was known to be the case with those others who were pledged to France. He wrote word home that the States were both angry and disconcerted because "some false brethren had discovered many concealed passages," but that they were not in a position to discern which were the culprits. He had heard from his "correspondent" that Isabel had just sent Don Juan de Benavides to Spain, carrying thither most part of these States' secret negotiation with their neighbours, *none excepted*. "The party who discovered said mystery unknown." Gerbier himself was not without confusion at thoughts of the figure he must cut in the eyes of a princess whom he really admired, and who had always treated him with distinction.

If these ministers [he wrote] should make any public expression . . . forasmuch as may concern the overtures made to me of States' designs, I shall attend the storm with that face which becomes a public minister who hath ears to hear but not tongue to answer till his sovereign bids him.

The death of Isabel, on November 30th, of which, to do him justice, Gerbier writes in feeling terms, relieved him from the anticipated shame of reappearing in her presence as a revealed intriguer with her subjects. But history had not heard quite the last of Sir Balthazar and his machinations. On the outbreak of the Civil War in England, he proved himself as great a turncoat as though his name had been Egmont, or Berg, or Warfuzé. He became a Parliamentarian, and deserted the sacred sovereign, to whose interests his own honour was formerly sacrificed. After the death of the king he published a pamphlet called "The Non-such Charles," in which he described the plot of 1632-3, and held up Cottington as the divulger of it. Whether or no this was so is hard to prove, since we have just seen that Gerbier first supposed Isabel to have given information of the plot to Madrid, on reports made to her by the plotters themselves at Brussels. Certainly Cottington loved "the things of Spain;" he continued to reside at Madrid as Ambassador of Charles II., though it was said that he was held in small account there. This is likely enough, because the dynasty which he represented was naturally not much loved at Madrid. Hallam is doubtless right in surmising that the discovery of Charles I.'s

intrigues with Belgium was the cause of the indifference with which Spain always regarded his misfortunes. Gerbier himself seems not to have prospered very well in his new character, though he did his best to keep himself *en evidence*. In 1658, a quarter of a century after his machinations at Brussels, we find him making an offer to the powers that then were "to use some means which he formerly put in practice during the siege of Maestricht, to move the States of Brabant and Flanders to shake off Spanish government, so secrecy be kept better than it was when Francis Cottington betrayed that business." He also offered "to endeavour in person the destroying of any port of the Spaniards, by a means which is infallible by the Lord's permission."

But in spite of his great experience, and his adoption of Puritan phraseology, the Parliament seems to have had no desire to employ Sir Balthazar either as a conspirator or a destroyer of ports. He died in Holland almost in penury, and, it is said, partially insane.

Such is the history of this whimsical *rapprochement* between the Belgic and Anglo-Saxon sides of the Channel, an intrigue sure to come to nought in the hands of a sovereign whose political views were so superficial as those of Charles I., and of conspirators so uncertain and frivolous as the Belgian patriots of the seventeenth century.

A. M. GRANGE.

ART. VII.—TOSTI'S LIFE OF ST. BENEDICT.

Della vita di San Benedetto : Discorso storico di D. Luigi Tosti, Benedettino Cassinese. Monte Cassino. 1892.

UNDER the above title, a Life of St. Benedict has lately appeared, written by the celebrated and learned monk of Monte Cassino, who has already enriched literature with volumes of such research as is worthy of the traditions of his Order.

Modern lives of St. Benedict are not only rare but one may say unknown, and the reason is often said to be that after St. Gregory the Great no one would venture on such a work. Written though it be with an authority and, with means of knowledge such as could never be again, with a style inimitable for its elegance, its beauty, and its appreciation of the subject, we would fain have a modern life, not for the sake of new facts, for that could not be, but to show us, what St. Gregory could not, the influence of that life on the world since then—on its civilisation, its literature, its art, and, above all, on the Church and upon souls. The moral actions and the circumstances of a man's life confined within the limits of his own individuality are not history. History only begins when man crosses those confines and extends his action to the social relations of family, State, and nation, and, as in this case, to the whole world. Tosti modestly calls his book a "historic discourse" on the life of St. Benedict, and begins by telling us that he has aimed more at entering into the spirit and heart of the great legislator than at erudite discussions, which have been exhausted by Mabillon, Haeften, Baronius, and many other Benedictine and non-Benedictine writers. His life is the result of the loving study of a son into his father's character, of the meditation of a monk on the model he desires to imitate, the ideal of his monastic life.

As is well-known, the sources of St. Benedict's life are few. First, we have that inimitable life in the second book of the Dialogues of the great monastic Pope Gregory, who may in a sense be called a contemporary writer, because though he was

born but three years before the death of the subject of his biography, yet he had all his information from those who could tell him of what they "had seen with their eyes, what they had looked upon and their hands had handled." Secondly, there is Mark, the poet, who became a monk at Monte Cassino during St. Benedict's lifetime, and wrote a Latin hymn of thirty-three distichs, in which he relates the arrival at Cassino and some particulars omitted by St. Gregory. And, thirdly and fourthly, there are the lives of SS. Maurus and Placidus, both of which were, it is true, interpolated later on, but the interpolations are so obvious, from their anachronisms, that there is no difficulty in separating them from the original history.

But although Tosti bases his life on these sources he does not disregard such oral traditions as are countenanced by trustworthy writers, for these, he says, should not be despised but carefully and reverently followed up, not as certain facts, but as helps to reasonable conjecture. So much then for the sources of the life of him whom Peter the Deacon calls: *Vir regregius ac post Apostolos singularis.*

St. Benedict was a Roman of the Trans-Tiberine region, but was born at Norcia, a Roman Province, together with his twin-sister Scholastica, in the year 480. *Gente Romanus, patria Nursinus*, says Wion. He was of the ancient and noble family of the Anicii, on part of the site of whose Roman palace still stands the little church of S. Benedetto in Pisicinula. Quaint and old indeed the church looks, and venerable the tradition that it formed part of the palace, and was by St. Benedict himself turned into a church under the invocation of Our Lady, and, after his death, was called by his own name. Tosti observes that the pavement of the church is not all of one style. That at the entrance is paved with large pieces of Parian marble of evident Roman work, and of an age far remote from the *opus Alexandrinum* with which the floor further on is ornamented; and he takes this as a confirmation of the tradition that the house was converted into a church. Perhaps too, he says, the square space covered with Alexandrine work is the site occupied by the room of the holy youth when studying in Rome.

This is not the time to go into more detail on this subject, nor yet on the mural painting of Our Lady which was on the

wall near the “room of St. Benedict,” and which was, some years ago, removed to the House of Studies at Sant’ Ambrogio. But there are a few details of special interest to English readers which must not be omitted.

The famous Benedictine Abbot, Constantine Gaetano, in 1621, bought this site and church, and, with the sanction of Gregory XV., began to build on the place of the old Anician Palace a college for Benedictine monks where they would be taught to fight *more majorum* by word and work against heresy. He also collected for the new institution a large library rich in printed books and valuable manuscripts which was to be called the Anician Library. But his plan seems to have suggested a still larger scheme, for the College of Propaganda was begun and the funds and library were all made over to it, whilst the unfinished building and church was given to the English Benedictines. Nothing is said how they lost it. On September 7, 1650, Gaetano died and was buried on the gospel side of the church, but no stone marks the last resting-place of this zealous lover of his order. A lengthy Latin inscription was composed by the learned Benedictine Galetti, from which the above details are taken and which is given in full in Tosti’s Life.

At an early age St. Benedict was sent to the Roman schools, and his subsequent life makes it fully evident that he profited by the advantages there given him.

When St. Gregory says that he went to Subiaco “skilfully ignorant and wisely unlearned,” he refers to his statement in a former sentence on the wickedness of his Roman surroundings. Great doubt is thrown by Tosti on the generally received opinion of the Saint’s age when he left Rome, and he devotes some pages to his reasons for believing it more likely that he was twenty rather than fourteen. The chief argument is drawn from the temptation by which he was assailed when in his cave on the Simbruine mountains, a temptation which, all the circumstances considered, could hardly assail one who had left the world as a mere boy. For it must be remembered that St. Gregory tells us that the temptation took the form of a certain young girl, perhaps of the Roman aristocracy, of the house of the Merula, whose beauty and other attractions had not been without their effect on the heart of the saint, and

it is not unlikely that a growing love, which he generously set aside for Christ, may have been a strong motive in his secret flight from Rome, for there was no lack of monasteries there where he could, if he had wished, have dedicated himself to the service of God. How far Tosti may be justified in this departure from what may be called the tradition of the order I do not know. To me it seems there is much for and much against it.

He left Rome by the Nomentan Road (and how one loves to follow him step by step) with Cyrilla his nurse, the only confidant of his plans, and directed his way towards the mountains of Tivoli, following the course of the Anio. At Affile he worked his first miracle, but the veneration shown by the people in consequence drove him from the little town where too he had left his nurse Cyrilla. She had led to the threshold of Subiaco the child of her heart, and after this she disappears from our sight.

Climbing Mount Taleo St. Benedict met the monk Romanus, to whom he confided his desire of leading not the life of a cenobite, but of an anchorite. And here the ground on which Tosti rested so much in his argument as to one great reason of the saint's flight from Rome is taken from under his feet. An anchoritic life could not be led in Rome, and therefore he was forced to leave if only to fulfil his vocation. To account for his leaving, it is not necessary to have recourse to the supposition that he sought to escape the influence of any Roman lady.

St. Benedict, in commencing with a hermit's and then taking on himself a monk's life, curiously enough reverses the order which he afterwards laid down in his Rule when he says that hermits are those

who not in the first fervour of devotion, but after long probation in the monastic life, have learned to fight against the devil, and, after being aided by the comfort and encouragement of others, are now able, by God's assistance, to strive hand to hand against the flesh and evil thoughts, and so go forth from the army of the Brotherhood to the single combat of the wilderness.

Romanus, in answer to the confidence of St. Benedict, gave him a religious habit, and recognising the designs of God over this wonderful and chosen soul, installed him in the cave

where he was to make his noviceship as it were of the highest paths of the spiritual life. Touching was the mission of St. Romanus. He assisted the beginning and was privileged to behold the end of that glorious life, for to him was granted to behold the soul of St. Benedict in his flight from this world. He from Subiaco and St. Maurus from Monte Cassino together celebrated in France the first Feast of the Transit of the Saint who had commenced his grand life at Subiaco and ended it at Monte Cassino. The cave was unknown to all. Behind it was a very high rock, part of which formed its roof, and by which it was impossible to descend ; from beneath ascent was equally impossible on account of the brushwood and fragments of rock which covered the steep declivity.

In the valley beneath flowed the Anio, its course a reminder of our fleeting life, the continuous sound of its waters a *memento homo* of the eternity of the life awaiting us after death. The mountains rising abruptly on the other and opposite side bar the view of the landscape, leaving only towards the east a small opening into the world beyond, and the brief vision of distant peaks and villages gilded by the rays of the sun. Terrible must have been the solitude where every breath of human companionship was stilled, but all powerful to raise to and keep in the presence of God a soul athirst for Him, the Spring of wisdom and of love. Everywhere and always God can be adored ; in such a place as this He can be felt.

This life of most intense solitude was unbroken for three years. No one visited the young hermit, no one heard of him. Romanus kept his secret, and his scanty food was at times let down to him by a cord in a basket ; but when, as St. Gregory tells us, it " pleased the Divine Goodness to free Romanus from his labours and to manifest to the world the life of St. Benedict for an example to all men," he appeared to a certain priest dwelling, according to a tradition, four miles from Subiaco and directed him to go to his servant and share with him the Easter meal he had prepared for himself. So entire was his solitude, so utter his ignorance of all that went on in the outer world, that even the flight of time, the epochs that divided the ecclesiastical year itself, were unknown by the Saint. In the meeting, as recorded by St. Gregory, we are struck especially by

a trait of character hardly perhaps to be expected from one so long removed from the refinements of life. His courtesy marked unmistakably the Roman gentleman: "I know that that day must be Easter on which I have the pleasure of seeing you."

From this time the "land that was desolate became glad and the wilderness rejoiced. Waters broke out in the desert and streams in the wilderness and a path and a way were there, and it was called the holy way." First came the shepherds; then others attracted first by this fame of sanctity, and then, when they had seen the youthful Saint, by the reality which showed itself in the effect produced by living in close communionship with Christ in God.

Then came the great temptation which it is unnecessary to relate, and which I refer to because Tosti, in speaking of it, again urges the likelihood of an early love who he thinks probably belonged to the family of the Merula, because St. Gregory calls the bird under which the temptation came by that name, and he adds that the impression made on his heart in Rome was a definite and lasting one, and one which succumbed only to time and violent penance.

Vicovaro is a town between Subiaco and Tivoli, where there was a monastery of monks who had lately lost their abbot. These almost forced the Saint to become his successor, probably hoping to draw the prestige which was surrounding the Subiaco cave to their own monastery. But they found that the price was too high. Their new abbot was determined to enforce the observance of discipline and his subjects rebelled and tried to poison him. He left them and returned again to the "solitude he loved so well." The remains of that monastery belong now to the sons of St. Francis. The refectory where the attempt at poison was made is still shown, and very lovely is the view of and from those ruins—tall cypresses rise up in their majesty against the grey background of rock, from which fall in thick garlands great ropes of ivy. The river Anio rushes at the foot of the mountain, and, like Subiaco again, mountains rise on the other side.

But God's time for the commencement of the great work confided to his servant had really come, and children gathered round him. According to Tosti, who finds his opinion on

the last chapter of the Rule, where St. Basil is called "our Holy Father Basil," St. Benedict gave as a code of life to his monks at Subiaco the Rule of that Saint, and he scouts the idea of the Rule, which was to become that of all Western monks, being written there. Indeed he would seem to wish to impress upon us that that Rule was not even necessarily observed in the twelve monasteries built there, excepting in that of St. Clement, where the Saint himself lived with a chosen and privileged few.* These he instructed more carefully than the others. Amongst them were Maurus and Placidus, who initiated the custom of the oblation of children to the monastic life, a custom provided for in the ninth chapter of the Rule, and which Faustus, the biographer of St. Maurus, relates as having been fulfilled in himself. St. Boniface, the great Apostle of Germany, and Venerable Bede are English examples of the same.

These two great Saints, Maurus and Placidus, were both trained for a great work, both were to be Apostles of the Order and one its first martyr. Of St. Maurus St. Benedict used to say that, "whilst yet a youth he attained the perfection of monastic life," and we know how he associated him to himself on many of the most important occasions of his life. Nor was St. Placidus much less loved by his master. In his vigil on the mountain top when, in his fatherly love and care for his children, he was praying for a spring of water that might ease them of their labour of fetching it from the foot of the mountain, Placidus was his companion. These Saints, like so many others in the communities subject to St. Benedict, were of noble family; but he remembered the words of St. Paul, that with God there is no accepting of persons, and so the poor rough Goth was as willingly received by him as such as these, and no question was asked of him as to his birth, his learning, or his possessions; he had faith and a strong arm to labour, and that sufficed to become a monk of St. Benedict.

Even Subiaco was not to be the Saint's rest for ever. Troubles came, as where will they not? That happy assemblage of monks was to have its peaceful happiness broken in upon in a way that hardly could have been anticipated.

* Page 78 *et passim* should be compared with p. 213.

An enemy, envying the influence of St. Benedict, and having vainly tried to destroy the peace which reigned under his rule, tried other means, and the man of God, seeing that this would never end during their lives, "gave place to envy" and left the home of so many years, left those who loved him so deeply and whom he loved so devotedly, for whose good he had worked and worn himself out. He left them, and we can hardly realise the grief on both sides on that departure, the blank in hitherto happy lives. Worse than all, there may have been a but uncertain loyalty to the Father leaving them; insinuations, perverted facts, were doubtless heaped up against him by his enemy; no means, however ignominious, would have been left unemployed. And so he went, went to a new work, to a wider apostolate, for "we know that to those who love God all things work together for good." And he had one unspeakable consolation. His best beloved, his choicest children accompanied him, those whom he had himself formed with special care.

When he was some distance on his road a message came telling him his adversary was dead, and the bearer of the news was the monk Maurus, who Tosti says was not St. Maurus, but another monk of the same name. The fiat, however, had gone forth, and St. Benedict went on his way. That he had intended at some time to leave Subiaco and found a monastery elsewhere, for which he had so carefully instructed certain more chosen souls, the author of this Life thinks certain. Monte Cassino is not found amongst the list of the donations made to St. Benedict by Tertullus the father of St. Placidus, but there are many reasons for believing that the gift was really made by him; and certainly the fact that he and his disciples were allowed to settle at Monte Cassino and destroy the altar erected to Apollo, the groves and idols, without opposition, prove that he went with a recognised authority. Mark, the poet, affirms that the choice of Monte Cassino was made by the Divine command, and he tells us that the travellers were preceded by two angels, who, when the way divided, pointed out which they were to take. Nor must we forget that he also says that three ravens, which the Saint had been accustomed to feed, followed him. On his way he passed the monastery of St. Sebastian, which had been built a few years

before on the top of a mountain to the East of Alatri, the abbot of which was his friend, the deacon Servandus, who later on used often to visit Monte Cassino and who was sleeping in the lower tower when Benedict from the window of the upper saw the soul of Germanus ascend to Heaven. In return for the hospitality received, St. Benedict gave to Servandus and his monks a bell which later came into possession of the Benedictine nuns in Alatri, where it still exists. Its ancient shape makes it highly probable that it really is the original that has come down to us, and not a copy as so often happens in such cases. It is without mark or inscription of any sort.

The Latin way was the road followed, and in time Cassino was reached. At this period it was in a sad state. Thirty-five or thirty years before it had been almost utterly destroyed by the Goths, and in a great measure depopulated. Nor was this the worst. Idolatry had its roots deep in this mountain. Marvellous it may seem that such could have been the case in the sixth century, but we must remember how these poor people were circumstanced. They had then no bishop, for Severus, who is last mentioned in 487, had no successor. Idolatry had never been totally eradicated, and the absence of all pastoral care was naturally followed by the people lapsing deeper and deeper into their superstitions and heathen practices, and we must suppose that the Goths had in this way also wrought terrible harm to the inhabitants of the town.

When St. Benedict arrived at about a quarter of a mile from the summit of the mountain, he stopped at a spot covered with ancient oaks and beeches, which is even now called Monte Venere, perhaps on account of an altar there, formerly dedicated to Venus. In 1820 descendants of those venerable trees covered the spot, but were all destroyed by the Neapolitan soldiers in their defence against the Austrians. Since then some have again sprung up from the ancient roots and are now reverently preserved. Near them is the rock on which are said to be imprinted the marks of the knees of St. Benedict, who, as he came in sight of the summit of that mountain where he was to exercise his difficult apostolate, knelt to beg the blessing of God; for, as St. Gregory says, the "Holy man by removing changed his habitation, but not his adversary, for he endured there more sharp conflicts," and, endowed as he was with the

gift of prophecy, these future struggles could hardly be unknown to him.

At the time when the Saint came to the mountain the peak was encircled by walls and towers, which served as defence and refuge to the underlying town, as was common to all the great Greek and Latin cities. This was the Roman citadel which occupied the highest peaks of the mountains, but in pre-historic times there had been a wider girdle of cyclopean walls, a great part of which still existed at St. Benedict's advent there ; much had been taken away to build the Roman citadel, but it served still more as a quarry from which, later, materials were taken to build the modern abbey. Remains are visible even to this day. The entrance tower of this Pelasgic citadel was still standing when St. Benedict arrived, and in it he took up his abode for forty days, preparing, like his divine Master, for his coming work. His disciples and the people who had followed him from the town below remained outside bewailing their temporary separation from their master. The author of the "Life of St. Placidus," as well as "Paul the Deacon," tells us clearly that this retreat was made during the forty days of Lent. In this year (529) Easter fell on the eighth of April, therefore on February 27 St. Benedict arrived on Monte Cassino, and in January he left Subiaco. Taking away the few days necessary for his journey to Monte Cassino, it is clear that he had six weeks in which he could work for the conversion of the inhabitants. On the 8th of April he left the Pelasgic tower and proceeded to the gate of the first tower of the Roman citadel, which afterwards became his own habitation, and which still remains full of such and so many memories as can attach themselves to no other place. In it he prayed and studied ; in it he wrote his immortal Rule ; from its windows he beheld the soul of St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua, carried to heaven in a globe of fire ; and his twin-sister, Scholastica, wing her pure flight from earth in the form of a snow-white dove.

The destruction of the idol of Apollo was his first work. It stood on the top of a twisted column of white Parian marble. In place of the overthrown idol, St. Benedict set the processional cross he had used in his coming, to perpetuate the memory of the triumph of the cross over the devil. This pillar is now in

the cloister in front of the church on the right-hand side. The height of this column is over six feet and a half, and its circumference three feet. Its authenticity is indubitable. Mabillon, Wion, Millet, Marangoni, were all convinced that it is what it professes to be, as well as the cross surmounting it, which is clearly of the sixth century.

Faithful to the traditions of the Roman Church, St. Benedict built an oratory on the place where the altar to Apollo had been. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and there for fourteen centuries has stood the Cassinese Basilica. Beneath the pagan altar there had been a crypt from which the priests of the idol gave their answers, and here when his work was over the great legislator was laid to rest, together with his sister Scholastica. There remained still the temple of Apollo; this too was suffered to stand, and was turned into an oratory or church in honour of St. Martin of Tours: this, unhappily, was pulled down by the Abbot Desiderius in the eleventh century, and rebuilt from the foundations, although it was the last relic of the ancient edifices. This also was destroyed in the sixteenth century by Bramante and Sangallo when designing the present magnificent church and abbey. Tosti gives the most interesting archaeological details about Monte Cassino, but in a review of this kind it is impossible to do more than refer to them as adding immensely to the interest and value of his work.

The apostolic spirit and work of St. Benedict is much dwelt on; his own work amongst the people round about, and the work of his disciples whom he sent to preach and teach. This apostolate and care of souls by the Saint was the origin of the quasi-episcopal jurisdiction which the abbots of Monte Cassino, his successors, have since had over the ancient diocese of Cassino. As we have seen, it had lost its bishop before his time, but not its status as a diocese; for that reason he who by a divine call had brought back its people to the faith became its spiritual shepherd.

This administration was confirmed by the Popes to his successors, and thus the abbots without episcopal character have ruled up to our day as quasi-bishops by Papal delegation, exempt from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, their abbey being as it were a vicariate apostolic. Such abbeys, called *nullius*, are the most evident historic proofs of the right of the

Roman Pontiffs to set the limits of dioceses, and to reserve portions of their territories to be subject immediately to the Bishop of Rome.

It is strange that on the very mountain where sacrifices were offered to Apollo there should have been a holy hermit named Martin, who lived a life of great penance in a cavern, and who was held in veneration by the same people who worshipped the false god—a curious combination of faith and superstition, such as we might hardly have expected. This hermit, on the arrival of St. Benedict, went to Monte Marsico, and chained himself to a cell in which he lived, because it had no door, and he willed to go no further than its length permitted him. St. Benedict, hearing of this, sent one of his disciples to him, and with this simple message: "If thou be a servant of God let the chains of Christ bind thee, not those of iron"—opened up to him higher perfection than he had yet practised.

While St. Benedict gave himself up to the evangelisation of the idolators, he also looked after the building of the monastery, a monastery that was to have so much influence in the history of the Middle Ages. Whilst the building was progressing he dwelt in the tower of the citadel, and his monks probably in rooms which had belonged to the priests of Apollo. The saint was the sole architect of the monastery, and his monks the workmen, but as it is probable that their numbers were not sufficient, others it may be supposed came from Subiaco to help. Many were the difficulties to be encountered. The Evil One would not give up without a struggle the place so long his own, and in many ways he tried to hinder the work which in spite of him prospered and was at length finished. No description of it is given by St. Gregory, but from discoveries made in excavating, and by careful gleaning from late manuscripts, a little is known.

St. Benedict dwelt always in the tower. It was divided, as it is now, into two floors which were probably separated by a wooden pavement. In the lower apartment, which was nine yards long by four broad, there was a window towards the east; there the saint lived; there he read, wrote, worked, received those who came to visit him, and performed some of his miracles. There his famous Rule was written. In the

room above were two windows, one towards the south, the other towards the west ; this was his oratory, in which he had marvellous visions. It was connected with the floor below by stairs, and by these stairs Servandus ascended when called by the man of God to witness the soul of Germanus going to Heaven.

To the east of the tower was the dormitory of the monks. There were other dormitories for children, novices, &c. ; the cells of the guests, who were never wanting ; of the poor and pilgrims, who were still more gladly to be welcomed, as “ Christ is more truly received in them ”; then there were the refectory, kitchen, cellar, garden, mill ; the offices where the monks exercised their various crafts ; the library with its manuscripts. The church of the monastery was not that of St. John the Baptist, but the oratory of St. Martin, for the former was higher up the mountain, and separated from the monastery by rocks and a small wood. A gate to the east of the tower opened on to what a MS. of the eighth century calls a podium—that is, a little portico—from which the Saint could see his monks at their occupations, and also those strangers who entered by the south gate of the tower. Here he sat, but never without some codex in his hand, and so he was found by the Goth Zalla and the poor persecuted peasants who came to him as to a sure refuge.

Having some idea of the form of the outward building, how one longs to people it with those living stones who were therein being chiselled and polished for the heavenly home to which their monastery was so peaceful and happy a vestibule. The names of some we know, and no one who loves the great Father of monks can have failed at some time to gather them together in imagination and group them round that grand central figure.

There was Maurus, who filled the office of prior of the monastery, and who supported his Father with the love of a son in the government of the community—and who shall say what their reciprocal feeling was ? How the disciple merged himself in the work, desires, and feelings of his master. If nothing on earth can equal the possession of a faithful friend, what shall be said of one who lightens the burden of superiority by respect, love, sympathy, and the most loyal fidelity ? After

this best-loved disciple came Placidus, whose personality seems such a living thing, and who must have been a joy and brightness to his abbot and the community. What Constantine must have been we can imagine, for he it was who was called upon to fill the place of abbot after St. Benedict. St. Gregory, who received from him so much material for the Life of his master, calls him "vir valde reverendissimus." At his death he was laid at the feet of his great predecessor, and rested there for five centuries, when Abbot Desiderius moved his body to the chapel of the martyred Abbot Bertherius; from this place he was again moved in the last century, and he now is honoured in the chapel dedicated to his successor, Saint Simplicius, who also was one of the disciples of St. Benedict, and whose Life was written after his death, but has unfortunately not come down to us. Vitalis and Bonitus, also successors of St. Benedict, have not, like the others mentioned, received the title of Saint. Again, there were Valentinian and Gregory, first two abbots of the Lateran. Four others received the cultus of saints; and they were Paulinus, Augustine, Constantian; and Antonius; the two last were companions of St. Maurus into France, whilst two others (Simplicius and Faustus), after leaving Monte Cassino with him, lived forty years in France carrying out the grand principles they had learned in their noviceship under their great master; Severus, the little monk, who, crushed beneath the wall thrown down by the devil during the building of the monastery, had been raised from the dead by St. Benedict. But to this happy Cassinese community there remains one more to be added—Mark, surnamed the Poet, because he wrote the Life of his saintly Father after he became a monk at Monte Cassino. His carmen is only of sixty-four lines, but is written with such intensity of affection, that every word throws a ray of light on the actions of his master. In the most touching way he addresses him. "O Benedict," he says, "pray for thy Mark, and I hold it certain that even I shall go one day to the enjoyment of eternal life." And he ends with these words; "And thus I now beg thee to change into pure wheat the thorns that wound the hard heart of thy **Mark.**"

A happy master, and thrice happy disciples! who can think without envy of that chosen group who were the privileged

sons of such and so great a Father? Saints they became because he who drew to, and kept them in the observance of the evangelical counsels, was a man who "lived with himself in the sight of Him who sees all things."

From this habitual vision from that source of justice there flowed into his own heart a wave of charity that descended into the hearts of his disciples, making of them and him one family. So their dwelling together in this brotherly love was as the happiness of Heaven. Thus Faustus and others could not tear themselves away from their Father, and these monks seemed like angels dwelling together in the House of God. The church resounded with their praises, the cloister echoed with the work of the workers, and the villages around with the sound of evangelical preaching. In the day-time the Benedictine plough furrowed the soil; in the silence of the night, after the "work of God" was finished, the monks were given the works of the great writers of Greece and Rome, which they transcribed; and so around the house of St. Benedict, silent and unseen, sprung up the first shoots of that social Christian civilisation at which he aimed.

Tosti gives many pages to a review of the Rule which formed such monks, but says it would be beyond the scope of his work to do more, and protests that he does not profess to give a commentary which in his modesty he declares himself unable to do. Those who read his admirable Life can have no doubt of the learning and the intensity of feeling which would enrich and grace such a commentary if he wrote it. He says, however, that he finds it necessary to dwell considerably on the Rule, as St. Gregory's words in speaking of it are: "And if any man desire to know more exactly the life and conversation of this holy Father, he may there behold it as in a mirror, for the blessed man could not possibly teach otherwise than he lived." To follow Tosti here would make this review too long, and so these beautiful pages must be left untouched.

There is an interesting account of the measure of bread which regulated the amount assigned daily to each monk, and which is still preserved. This precious relic of the sixth century is of bronze, having a ring above, by which it can be held; it is of Roman work, and its weight is a little more than 2 lbs. and a half avoirdupois. When the monks of Monte

Cassino were driven out of their monastery in the dead of night by the Lombards they fled to Rome, to the Lateran, carrying with them the original Codex of the Rule, the weight for bread, the measure for wine, and some few necessaries. Their abbot, Bonitus, took the weight to the Lateran monastery, and Pope Gregory the Second, out of veneration for him who first had it in his hands, caused to be engraved round it these words : *Pondus librae panis S. Benedicti.* The monks returned to their monastery under Abbot Petronax, and Pope Zachary, who appears to have kept the weight, made restitution of it to Monte Cassino. It was carefully preserved, as Peter the Deacon tells us, in the twelfth century, in the *vestiario*. At the beginning of the present century it was lost in the sack of the abbey by the French Republicans, but finally, in 1879, it returned to the possession of the monks at Monte Cassino. Tosti does not tell us how, but merely relates the fact, adding that its recovery was partly due to D. Anselmo Caplet.

St. Benedict wrote his Rule with his own hand, and we find that he made two copies. One was given to Saint Maurus to take into France, and is believed to have perished in the destruction of his monastery at Glanfeuil. The other, taken to Rome in 586, was brought back to Monte Cassino when the monks returned to their abbey under Abbot Petronax. In the *privilegium* of Pope Zachary there is mention made amongst the gifts to Saint Benedict of a copy of the Rule, *quam piissimus Pater manu propria scripsit*, from which it is clear that this precious document had, like the weight for bread, come into the hands (with the consent of the monks) of Popes Gregory II. and Zachary. From this autograph a copy was made in the eighth century, and sent by Abbot Theodemar to Charlemagne. In 884 the monks were turned out of their abbey by the Saracens, and took refuge at Teano, where there was a monastery dedicated to St. Benedict. Here they brought their treasured Codex ; but seven years after, fire destroyed the monastery, and it, with everything else, was consumed. There was an ancient tradition at Monte Cassino that a page had been saved from the flames and preserved there with great veneration. Simon Millet, the French Benedictine, relates that he saw it in 1605 enclosed in a reliquary of crystal and silver, on which were engraved these words : *Hæc est scriptura propria manus Sancti Benedicti Abbatis.*

At the end of the same century Mabillon saw it, but his opinion was that "the writing was posterior to the time of St. Benedict," and he conjectures that "it was perhaps a page from the autograph Rule taken into France by St. Maurus." How to understand this I do not know. In the first part of the sentence we are told that the writing is not as ancient as the time of St. Benedict; in the second that it is perhaps a portion of the copy of the Rule he wrote and sent into France.

A very interesting account is given in this Life by Tosti of the visit of Tertullus, the father of St. Placidus, to Monte Cassino, and of his affiliation to that community to which he had made so many donations. Before he left he had given not only a large portion of his great possessions, but his heart also, to St. Benedict, and had one more request to make—namely, that when he died his body might be buried outside the refectory door, so that the monks when entering it morning and evening might remember him and pray for his eternal rest. And up to this day an annual commemoration is made on July 16 for the soul of this great benefactor. Equitius, too, the father of St. Maurus, made offerings to St. Benedict of lands and churches, and his example was followed by Gordian, the father of St. Gregory the Great. These were by no means the only gifts nor the only benefactors, and they brought with them much anxiety through the necessity of keeping them as things belonging to God.

The Sicilian lands given by Tertullus were in danger of being seized by people who cared for neither saint nor monk, and St. Benedict resolved to send St. Placidus with some companions to form a Benedictine colony on the land that had belonged to his father. One of these companions was Gordian, who later wrote his Life; another was Donatus. They departed on May 20, A.D. 537, strengthened by words of encouragement from St. Benedict, in which he foretold their future martyrdom—a prophecy only too soon fulfilled, when the blood of the young abbot and his community, together with his brothers Eutychian and Victorinus, and his sister Flavia, who were on a visit to him at the time, flowed on the soil belonging to his family. Happy proto-martyr of the great Benedictine Order, prepared for the fight and for the victory on the heights of Subiaco and

Cassino ! Did not his thoughts in that last hour fly back to the night in the dim distance when his abbot took him as witness to his prayer in the quiet solitude of the mountain-top when asking for that spring of water that would lighten the labour of his monks ? Perhaps on that night he had turned to the little monk kneeling by his side, and, looking up into the starry skies, had said, " Lift up your heart, for this is the way by which you shall go to God." Hearing of his death for the faith, he rejoiced because his son had not lost that way, but was his own precursor into Heaven, and the precursor of the innumerable legions of holy monks who were to follow him.

A great trial came to St. Benedict as the days of his life were drawing to a close—a trial so great that Theoporus, a nobleman who had become a monk, and was very intimate with the saint, found him in his cell,

weeping bitterly, and when he had waited a good while and saw he did not give over, he boldly demanded of him the cause of so great grief, and the man of God replied : " All this monastery I have built; and whatsoever I have done for my brethren is by the judgment of Almighty God delivered up to the pagans, and I could hardly obtain from Him the lives of the monks dwelling in it." (Old English version.)

In fact, this prophecy was fulfilled under Pope Pelagius the Second, fifty years after it was made.

But this revelation of the destruction of the monastery was tempered by the propagation of the Order in France. The fame of St. Benedict and his monks had reached that country, and a request was brought to him to make a foundation in what is now the diocese of Mans. After prayer and counsel it was decided to accede to this request, and Maurus, the best beloved of his monastic family, the fairest flower of his community, was charged with the great work. With him were sent Constantinian, Faustus, and Antonius. St. Benedict was now old, his end was near, and he was more in want than ever of help in the government of his monks, and yet for love of his God and to propagate his Order he did not hesitate to offer in sacrifice him whom he had educated with so much care, and formed to be his successor in the abbatial office. To lose him, never to see him again, was a blow to that heart whose love for God only deepened that for man. The discourse he made at his departure overflows with feeling. It ends with these

words : " And let not the dissolution of this poor body of mine sadden you, for I feel that when I shall have laid down the burden of the flesh, I shall by the grace of God be your never-failing helper."

When in later centuries the great Benedictine family became divided into various congregations, there arose in 1621 that of St. Maurus, which acquired such a fame for learning and for piety that the name *Maurist* became synonymous with a man given wholly to God and to study. These descendants of the Cassinese colony brought by St. Maurus to Glanfeuil were the most precious jewels in the crown which merited for St. Benedict the undying gratitude of every student of history.

No one can read the Decalogues of St. Gregory without noticing the habit of the Saint of praying in the open air. Like St. Paul, he was impatient to be dissolved and to be with Christ. This intolerance of earthly bonds lent him wings to fly at will to the firmament where he met his God. The boundless expanse of the sky, its silence, the chaste splendour of the stars attracted him ; they were as the entrance to the infinite oasis of peace which we call Paradise. And only those who have been to Monte Cassino can understand how close God seems brought to the soul that sees around it nothing but the everlasting mountains, and above it that ceiling of earth and floor of heaven.

The dearest links of his life had been broken. Placidus was in Heaven, Maurus in France, and there remained one perhaps dearer still, his sister Scholastica. The story of their last earthly meeting is well known. Three days after, St. Benedict returned home, standing at night in his cell, and looking out of the window, which looks towards the west, she appeared to him in the form of a white dove winging its flight to heaven. " With joy congratulating her heavenly glory, he gave thanks to God in hymns and praises ; " he immediately sent some of his disciples for the holy body. He had already prepared his own tomb, and in it he laid his sister, that so " their bodies might not be separated in death whose hearts had been so united during life."

Forty days only were to elapse when he would be laid beside her, and during that time he foretold the day of his death to some of his disciples. On those at Monte Cassino he

enjoined strict silence; to those who would be absent he gave the sign by which they would know when he had left the world. Six days before his death he had the tomb opened, and immediately after was seized by a fever, which became more and more violent, and on March 21, Holy Saturday as it was that year (543), he had himself carried by his disciples into the oratory of St. John the Baptist. There he received the Viaticum of the Body and Blood of Christ; and there, being supported in the arms of his disciples, "he stood, lifted his hands to Heaven, and with words of prayer breathed forth his soul." And so he died. His death was the death of a saint, but the death also of a Roman. Surrounded by his disciples in life, he was surrounded by them in death, for all looked forward to being around him in heaven:

The very same day, two of his disciples, the one living in the monastery, the other in a place far remote, had a revelation in one and the self-same manner. For they beheld a glorious way, spread with precious garments and lighted with innumerable lamps, stretching forth eastward from his cell up to heaven. A man of venerable aspect stood above, and asked them whose way that was; but they professing that they knew not, "this," saith he, "is the way by which the beloved of God, Benedict, ascended."

St. Benedict was buried near his sister: a small painting in a niche above the spot, by D'Arpinto, represents them in the grave. Thirteen lamps burned day and night around the tomb, and the inscription placed there by the Abbot Della Noce is in these words:

*Benedictum et Scholasticam
Uno in terris partu editos
Una in Deum pietate cœlo redditos
Unus hic excipit tumulus
- Mortalis depositi pro æternitate custos.*

The frontispiece to Tosti's book is a phototype of St. Benedict from a painting by Mazzaroppi. It has these words under it: "In terris positus in cœlestibus habitabat." A tradition runs as follows: In the seventeenth century Marco Mazzaroppi, of Piedmont, who had studied painting in Venice, brought to Monte Cassino some oil paintings of St. Benedict. He related that, not knowing what the Saint was like, he had such a clear vision of him in sleep that he was able to paint

him afterwards exactly as he had seen him. One of these paintings is in the crypt of the Basilica. In the revelations of the Spanish virgin Maria d'Escobar we are told that, having a great devotion to St. Benedict, she longed to know what was his appearance. God gratified her wish, and she gives us the description of what she saw, and, as far as I can remember, it agrees with the picture by Mazzaroppi. An ascetic face, eyes that look on God, a long untrimmed beard, strike one; but the other features are very marked, and make the face one that, once seen, is never forgotten.

But St. Benedict has lived through the succeeding ages. To speak of history, of civilisation, of literature, of art, of the spiritual life, and of apostolic work, is to speak of him. As Tosti says :

Traversing the countries of Europe between the sixth century and the Renaissance, the figure of one man stands forth, who, being all things to all men, is, as he had been at Monte Cassino, a missionary of the faith who brings the barbarians to that *verità che tanto ci sublima*,* transcribes the monuments of Greek and Roman wisdom, weaving his lowly chronicle, provides for the continuity of history; drains marshes, reclaims forests, and with the Latin plough furrows the land and sows the seeds of the political economy of the future; in his abbeys sets up chairs of learning, cradles of the modern universities; enlarges the monastery and expands it into a city. Athlete of faith and justice, he entered as a prophet into courts, purifying their customs, tempering their power, drawing penitent kings to the cloister, investing them with the cowl. In the terrible conflict between divine and human authority, between the priesthood and the empire, at the cry of *salva nos perimus* he raises up in the mystic bark of Peter a legion of Pontiffs, his sons, to grasp the helm and guide it into port. Roman in mind, Christian in heart, he was the strong stay of the human spirit in its struggle after truth.

M. M.

* Dante, "Paradiso," canto xxii. 42.

ART. VIII.—SAINT AUGUSTINE AND THE DONATISTS.

Opera Sancti Augustini, T. ii. et ix. Ed. MIGNE. Paris.
1877.

SEEING the pains that are taken to puzzle well-meaning Anglicans as to the nature and consequences of Schism, we thought St. Augustine's contest with the Donatists might be a useful object-lesson. Nearly all his writings against them are contained in the two tomes of his works placed at the head of this article; but the following brief account of them is taken from his work, *De Hæresibus*, lxix.

The Donatists are those who first made a schism because Cecilian was ordained Bishop of Carthage against their will, objecting to him unproved crimes and especially his ordination by *traditors*; and then, when the cause was heard and their falsehoods exposed, pertinaciously adhered to their dissension and turned the schism into a heresy, pretending that the Church of Christ had for the crimes of Cecilian perished in the whole world, to which it had been promised, and was now to be found only in Africa, being extinct everywhere else by the contagion of communion; and to confirm still more their heresy they dare to rebaptize even Catholics.

The sentence here alluded to was pronounced at Rome in 313 by Pope Melchiades, and renewed in the great Council of Arles in 314, in order to leave the factionists no possible excuse. But it was all in vain; for a whole century, nearly every diocese in Africa had two bishops, a Catholic and a Donatist. In every thing, except the two or three above-mentioned heresies, they were undistinguishable from the Catholics; they had valid orders, a hierarchy of over four hundred bishops, the celibacy of the clergy, the Mass, and the seven sacraments, relics, invocation of saints, confession, fast and abstinence, &c.

St. Augustine became Bishop of Hippo in 396, and was more or less occupied with this sect for the rest of his life; we have, therefore, ample materials for learning what he thought of it. He treats it chiefly as a Schism, and to this aspect of it we shall for the present confine our attention. We must bear carefully

in mind that in all this controversy he is dealing with *formal* Schism, not with mere *material* Schism like the Schism of Antioch in his own time, or the great Schism of the West in after ages—1378 to 1417. He takes no pains to give a strict definition of schism, but his definition is quite plainly implied throughout the whole controversy; thus he says to Gaudentius (ii. 10): “*Cum et Schismaticus sis sacrilegâ discessionê, et hœreticus sacrilego dogmate.*”*

The great Donatist schism produced from time to time several minor ones which St. Augustine calls “fractions of a fraction,” saying that it is the nature of sects to melt away in that manner (c. Parmen. i. 9). The great original *fraction* called these offshoots sacrilegious Schisms (c. Crescon. iii. 59), while they indignantly rejected the title from themselves. This absurd notion St. Augustine constantly ridicules. Thus (c. Crescon. iv. 7, 9):

Will you then say that Maximianus made a schism from your communion, but that Donatus did not make one from the Catholic Communion? It is then manifest that they made a schism from your communion, but you will not admit that your own separation from the Catholic communion was a schism; how to explain this most vain and spiteful impudence I am utterly at a loss.

And again to Crispinus (Ep. 51):

Remember the charge of sacrilegious schism so vehemently urged against the Maximianists by your council and then tell us what excuse you can offer for the far greater crime of schism from the whole world.

Not only did they refuse to be called Schismatics, but they claimed the title of Catholic, and even held themselves to be the only true Catholics left in the world. These lofty pretensions they grounded on the plea that their separation was not only justifiable but imperative, as it was impossible for them to remain in communion with corrupt churches stained by public and unpunished crimes, and above all, by the crimes of *traditors* †

St. Augustine refuted in the greatest detail all the special accusations of the faction; but he went farther and declared

* We may here remark that his principal adversaries in this controversy were the four bishops, Parmenian, Petilian, Emeritus, and Gaudentius; and the grammarian Cresconius.

† *Traditors* were those who had delivered up the sacred books during the late persecution of Diocletian.

that there could be no possible excuse for a separation from the Catholic Church, and to this general principle we shall here confine ourselves. The Donatists were famous for absurd applications of scripture texts, but St. Augustine takes pains to unravel even their most ridiculous arguments for the sake of their deluded followers: thus, when Parmenian abuses the text (John ix.), *Sinners, God will not hear*, he turns on him, and proves that its true sense was just the very opposite to that alleged, "and that there could be no possible reason for separating men by a nefarious Schism" (*c. Parmen.* ii. 15). Again he says (*id.* 25): "These texts of Holy Scripture we produce to show that nothing can exceed the crime of Schism, because there can be no just necessity for destroying unity." Again (*id.* iii. 28), he winds up a long argument against another absurd application of a text of scripture by saying: "Let us, therefore, hold as certain and incontestable, that no good men can separate themselves from her (the church)." Again (*id.* iii. 24): "Qua propter securus judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum in quacumque parte terrarum." Writing to Vincent the Rogatist he says (*Ep. xciii.* 25, 28):

What we say to all Donatists we say still more to you; if any persons can have, *which is impossible*, a just cause for separating their communion from the communion of the whole world, and calling it the Church of Christ on the plea that they had justly separated themselves from the communion of all nations, &c. . . . But we are certain that no one can separate himself *justly* from the communion of all nations, because none of us looks for the Church in his own justice, but in the Divine Scriptures, &c.

And then he gives nearly all the promises made to the Church in the Old and New Testaments.

Whatever question may be raised about any of these passages, we do not see how it is possible, in presence of their combined force, to have any doubt as to St. Augustine's opinion regarding the possibility of a *lawful schism* or separation from the Universal Church. But Anglicans ask, how do we know that he means the Roman Catholic Church? Well, he certainly means the church to which he professed to belong himself, and in recent numbers of this REVIEW (July 1890-1891) we have indirectly shown that this was certainly the

Catholic Church in communion with the Roman Pontiff.* But to meet every scruple of our Anglican friends, we shall endeavour to remove all room for doubt. That in this controversy he means one and the same church from first to last, is quite manifest ; and this church he calls indifferently Ecclesia Catholica, Ecclesia Universalis, Orbis terrarum, Unitas Catholica, Unitas orbis terrarum, Ecclesia, or simply Catholica. His adversaries never asked what he meant by these terms ; they knew only too well that he meant the Church which they had left—the Catholic Church in communion with the Apostolic See. They occasionally questioned his right to take the term *Catholic* of the Creed in the sense he did, but never doubted what his sense was. Thus, in answer to one of these quibbles, he says (*c. Petil. ii. 91*) :

Although indeed I know little or nothing of Greek,† I can without presumption assert that *ολος* does not mean *one*, but *the whole* ; and that *χαθ' ολος* means *everywhere* (*secundum totum*)—whence the Catholic Church has received its name, according to the words of the Lord (*Acts i.*), *you shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem and all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.*

This was said in 402, and yet in 420 another champion of the sect repeats the same quibble (*c. Gauden. ii. 2*), but is not let off so easily. Augustine says to him : “If you knew all this why did you dissemble ; if you did not, why did you not ask those who did ?” At the Conference of Carthage they pretended that the term *Catholic* meant the plenitude of the Sacraments, not the plenitude of the nations (*Brev. Coll. 3tio. die. 4*) ; for they knew well that this single word contained the whole argument against them. And in point of fact St. Augustine only repeats in a thousand forms this one argument : the Church of Christ was to be Catholic ; you are not Catholic, therefore you are not the Church of Christ. Thus he says (*Ep. 44*) : “Which is the true Church, that which is spread throughout all nations, in accordance with the prophecies, or that which is confined to a part of Africa ?” Again (*c. Petil. ii. 30*) : “As the word of God tells us of Paradise, so does it tell us where to find the Church, namely, *in all nations*”

* In the article for July 1890, on page 97, there are two typographical errors, viz., cxxxvi. for clxxxvi. and vi. 27 for vi. 37.

† This was in 402, very early in his career ; in his later works he is quite at home in Greek.

but you are only in the sect of Donatus." Again (*id.* 35): "If nothing can be truer than the Word of Christ, which says that His Church is *in all nations*, what can be more untrue than your word that it is confined to the sect of Donatus?" And again (*id.* 164): "The question between us is, where is the Church? . . . Christ says, *in all nations*; and you who do not communicate with all nations, where this has been accomplished, how can you be His sheep?" Such are the passages one meets on almost every page of his anti-Donatist writings.

Yes, there can be no doubt that he always means the *Catholic Church*; but did he mean exclusively the Roman Catholic Church? Well, every one knows that Catholicity implies unity, and that permanent unity implies a centre and a principle of unity; did Augustine realise this idea? His writings are saturated with it, and his constant attitude towards the Apostolic See proves clearly where he placed the centre of unity. Hence, although the name of the Roman Pontiff was odious to the Donatists, and controversial policy would seem to counsel its omission, he never allows them to imagine that the Catholic Church and her visible head can be separated in his mind. His very first appeal to them was a popular ballad in twenty-one stanzas (*Psalmus cont. Partem Donati*): the eighteenth stanza runs thus: *

Scitis Catholica quid sit, et quid sit præcsum a vite :
Si qui sunt inter vos cauti, veniant, vivant de radice ;
Antequam nimis arescant, jam liberentur ab igne.

* * * * *

Sed quid illi prodest forma, si non vivit de radice ?
Venite, fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite :

* Our readers will excuse the following rough translation, as it faithfully renders the sense:

The Church Catholic you know of,
And also what has been lopped off :
Let those among you who are prudent,
Come and sap draw from the root,
And avoid the fire that burneth,
While as yet some life remains.

* * * * *

Brethren come and be engrafted,
If you will it, in the vine :
It grieves us much to see you prostrate,
And cut off from sap and life—
Count the Priests from Peter downwards,

Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.
 Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsâ Petri Sede;
 Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit, videte:
 Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.

Having in the previous stanzas given the history and consequences of the Schism, he comes to the practical conclusion in this, and what is it? That if they wish to save their souls and avoid the fire of hell, they must at once quit the Schism and be united to the Catholic Church and the See of Peter, *the rock against which the gates of hell cannot prevail* (Matt. xvi.).

Again, in a work published against the Manicheans three or four years later, and well known to the Donatists, he says (*c. Epis. Fund. 5*): “I am also held (in the Catholic Church) by the succession of priests to this day in the See of Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of His sheep.”

Petilian, the Donatist bishop of Cirta, the capital of Numidia, wishing to bring over to his sect a Catholic named Generosus, sent him a list of the succession of bishops in his see; this letter was laid before St. Augustine, and in his answer to Generosus, which was to be communicated to Petilian, he deals thus with the local succession argument:

If it be a question of the succession of bishops, the surest way is to count from Peter himself to whom, as representing the whole Church, the Lord says, *on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her* (Matt. xvi.). To Peter succeeded Linus, to Linus Clement, to Clement Anacletus, to Anacletus Evaristus, to Evaristus Alexander, to Alexander Sixtus, to Sixtus Telesphorus, to Telesphorus Hyginus, to Hyginus Anicetus, to Anicetus Pius, to Pius Soter, to Soter Eleutherius, to Eleutherius Victor, to Victor Zephyrinus, to Zephyrinus Calixtus, to Calixtus Urbanus, to Urbanus Pontianus, to Pontianus Antherus, to Antherus Fabianus, to Fabianus Cornelius, to Cornelius Lucius, to Lucius Stephen, to Stephen Sixtus, to Sixtus Dionisius, to Dionisius Felix, to Felix Eutichianus, to Eutichianus Caius, to Caius Marcellinus, to Marcellinus Eusebius, to Eusebius Melchiades, to Melchiades Sylvester, to Sylvester Marcus, to Marcus Julius, to Julius Liberius, to Liberius Damasus, to Damasus Siricius, to Siricius Anastasius . . . who now occupies the same See. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found (Ep. 53).

Who have occupied his chair;
 Closely look to their succession,
 And be sure that all are there:
 It is the rock not to be shaken,
 By all the powers stored up in Hell.

In a friendly letter (Ep. xlii. 7) to certain Donatist gentlemen he says :

The Bishop of Carthage could afford to despise all his enemies, seeing himself in communion with the Roman Church in which the primacy (*principatus*) of the Apostolic See has always flourished; and with the other lands from which the Gospel has come to Africa herself.

It is manifest from the circumstances of the time that this "communion with the other lands" was through Rome, the centre of unity, and, indeed, St. Augustine reminds the Donatist Cresconius that the Eastern Churches never held communications with Carthage except through the Bishop of Rome (c. Crescon. iii. 38).

What is the inevitable conclusion from all this? Why, that it was made impossible for the Donatists to have any doubt as to St. Augustine's doctrine regarding the position of the Roman Pontiff in the Church, or to imagine that he ever thought or spoke of the Catholic Church apart from its centre of unity. Therefore, whenever he speaks of the Catholic Church he means the Roman Catholic Church, that is, the Church spread throughout all nations and in communion with Rome.

But what is all this to the present generation of Donatists? They did not make the Schism; they were born in it, and it is the church of their baptism. St. Augustine answers (c. Petil. iii. 6) :

Let no one say, I follow him because he baptized me. . . . For, no one preaching the name of Christ or administering the Sacrament of Christ, is to be followed against the unity of Christ.

Yes, he bewailed their lot in the bitterness of his soul, and left no means untried to facilitate their escape from the Schism by *corporate reunion*, but having failed in this he incessantly reminds them that their present state is a state of sin and sacrilege, for both pastors and people. Thus he says (c. Petil. ii. 221) :

That you are all guilty we prove, not from other men's crimes, but from your own crime of Schism, from which most grievous sin none of you can consider himself exempt as long as he does not communicate with the unity of all nations.

Again, in a letter addressed to the whole body of the

Donatists and signed by the bishops of Numidia, he says (Ep. 141, n. 5) :

And now, therefore, take heed that whoever is separated from this Catholic Church, no matter how well he may think himself to live, shall not have eternal life but the wrath of God for this single crime of separation from the unity of Christ.

Again (De Baptis. c. Donat. i. 10) : "Therefore, those whom they (the Schismatics) baptize, are indeed cured of the wound of idolatry and infidelity ; but they are more grievously stricken by the wound of Schism." Speaking at Cæsarea in presence of the celebrated Donatist bishop Emeritus, he says (Serm. ad Cæsar. 6) :

Outside the Catholic Church he can have everything except salvation. . . . But, should the enemy of Christ say to him, offer incense to the idols, adore my gods, and he for refusing should be slain ; he could shed his blood, but he could not receive the crown.

After this we need not wonder at his denunciations of the Donatist clergy whom he regarded as the most guilty agents in this wholesale ruin of souls. Thus he says (c. Parmen. ii 25) : "These texts of sacred scripture I have cited, to make it plain that nothing can be more grievous than the sacrilege of Schism." And again (c. Petil. ii. 30) : "Therefore, whoever draws away any one from the Universal Church to any sect, is a murderer and a child of Satan." Again (*id.* 164) : "Whoever then draw away men from this fold, are but ravening wolves who separate them from the life of charity and unity."

But why multiply such extracts ? Any one who looks over the second tome named at the head of this article (T. ix.), can see them scattered thick as hail. We may therefore turn our attention to some of the other consequences of the Schism. One of these was, that it placed an insuperable obstacle to the full effect even of those sacraments which the Donatist clergy could administer *validly* though *illicitly*. In his work *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* i. 18, St. Augustine thus concludes a long argument :

So, too, that enemy of the charity and peace of Christ who receives baptism in some heresy or schism, obtains no remission of his sins by this sacrilegious crime ; but, when he corrects himself and comes into the unity and communion of the Church, though he cannot be rebaptized, the sacrament which when received in schism could not profit him, will

now begin to avail unto the remission of his sins, by virtue of this very peace and reconciliation.*

This doctrine he constantly applies to baptism, which was a main subject of controversy with the Donatists; but he applies it also to the two other sacraments that impress a permanent character. Thus he says (*c. Petil. ii.* 239):

In this unction you wish to see the sacrament of Chrism, which among visible signs is most holy like baptism itself; but remember it may be in the very worst men. . . . Learn then to distinguish between the visible sacrament—which may be in the good or in the bad, in the former unto merit, in the latter unto judgment—and the invisible unction of charity which is peculiar to the good.

Regarding the Sacrament of Order he says (*c. Parmen. ii.* 28):

Some of them [the Donatists], overcome by the force of truth, have begun to say, that indeed baptism is not lost by separation, but that the right to administer it is lost: this is a vain distinction. . . . For both are sacraments, both are given by a certain consecration, one in baptism the other in ordination, and therefore in the Catholic Church neither can be repeated. . . . Hence even when bishops come over, and for the good of peace are sometimes retained in their functions, they are not re-ordained . . . but what was criminal in the separation is corrected by the union.

These passages need very little comment; it is manifest that he regarded these three sacraments as valid when administered by Donatists, but that they remained suspended as to the effects connected with sanctifying grace, for the simple reason that charity or sanctifying grace is incompatible with a state of sin like that of Schism. All this he constantly asserts in connection with such passages as those already given.

Of course the principle that grace cannot co-exist with sin applies to all the sacraments; but St. Augustine adds another

* After the Conference of Carthage—A.D. 411—the Donatists began to come over in great numbers; and the leaders, seeing that they were not put among the public penitents, pretended that by this the Catholics recognised all that was done by the Donatists. Augustine answers (*Ep. cixxv. 42*): “*Ac per hoc nemo potest esse justus quamdiu fuerit ab unitate hujus corporis separatus . . . Imo nisi egeris (poenitentiam) salvus esse non poteris.*”

But those who had once been Catholics had to do public penance: and when the faithful complained that they could not be trusted, he answers (*Serm. ccxcvii. 12*): “*Ecce et huic timori vestro consultur; in poenitentiam admittuntur. Erunt in poenitentia quando voluerint reconciliari, jam nemine cogente, nemine terrente. . . . Quis illum cogit petere reconciliationis locum, nisi voluntas propria?*”

reason applicable to the Sacrament of Pœnance. No one ever realised more fully than he did the doctrine contained in these words of our Lord (John xiv.-xx.): “*I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven.*” His comments on the first of these texts in his explanations of the Creed and in his Pentecost sermons contain some most beautiful passages on the relations of the Holy Ghost to the Church; but our present concern is with the second text and the power there given of remitting sins. That this power, whether exercised by baptism or by absolution, depends on the special presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, St. Augustine proves in a special dissertation (Serm. 71) on the text, “*he that speaks against the Holy Ghost, &c.*” (Matt. xii.). On account of the discipline of the secret, he speaks more openly about baptism, but he refers to absolution also clearly enough for the faithful (n. 6, 7, 23, 28, 37). His conclusions on our present subject are thus expressed (n. 33, 37):

Which things being so, as the remission of sins is given only in the Holy Ghost, it can be given only in that church which has the Holy Ghost. . . . And thus is said the word against the Holy Ghost, when those who are separated never return to the society that has received the Holy Ghost for the remission of sins. Whoever with a sincere heart comes to this society, even through an unworthy clergyman but still a Catholic minister, obtains the remission of his sins by the Holy Ghost himself who so operates in holy Church as to despise no one’s sincere confession.

As this last paragraph regards only the members of Christian sects with valid baptism, it is manifest that there is question only of the reconciliation by Pœnance. Remark also how he requires not merely an ordained clergyman, but a *Catholic minister*; for mere ordination could not give the *jurisdiction* required for a judicial act; this should come in some way from the Church herself. It was confined at first to the bishop, and delegated only very gradually and very sparingly as the numbers of the Christian people increased. Of course no Donatist priest could as such be a *Catholic minister* of the sacrament. St. Augustine publicly conferred jurisdiction on the priest Heraclius (Ep. cxxiii. 5, 6), passing over other priests who were his seniors in the ministry. That the African bishops looked carefully

to this point is quite clear from Canon 6 of the *Codex Canonum* drawn up by the Council of Carthage, of the year 419; and from Canon 30 of the Council of Hippo, in 393, at which St. Augustine was present, and exerted very great influence, having been specially consulted, although then only a priest, by the Primate Aurelius of Carthage (Ep. 22).

St. Augustine has preserved a curious Donatist argument which runs thus (De Baptismo cont. Donat. i. 15):

They ask whether sins are remitted by baptism in the Donatist Communion; in order that if we say Yes, they may be able to reply that therefore the Holy Ghost is there, since the Lord when giving Him to the disciples, breathing on them said, *baptize the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost* (Matt. xxviii.); *whose sins you shall remit they are remitted, whose sins you shall retain, they are retained* (John xx.). If this be so, say they, our communion is the Church of Christ, for outside the Church the Holy Ghost does not remit sins. But if our communion is the Church of Christ, your communion is not, for she is *one* wherever she is; there cannot be as many churches as Schisms. But if we say that sins are not remitted there, they reply that therefore true baptism is not there, and we ought to baptize our converts from them; but by not doing so we confess that we do not belong to the Church of Christ.

This argument proves one thing at least, namely, that the Donatists had no more idea of the Branch theory than St. Augustine himself. In his answer he cites the case of Simon Magus (Acts viii.) to show how Baptism could be valid and at the same time *informis* or without grace. In a previous paragraph (n. 3) he says:

Therefore we do not say to them, do not give it (baptism), but do not give it in Schism; nor do we say to the recipients, do not receive it, but do not receive it in Schism. For should any one who intends to receive it in Catholic unity, find himself in extreme necessity, having no Catholic present, and receive it from some one not in Catholic unity, while preserving Catholic peace in his own heart; we regard him as a Catholic should death immediately follow.

Of course this meets the case of Donatists baptized in infancy; they were Catholics until, by a voluntary act, on arriving at the use of reason, they became *formal* schismatics, and thereby lost the grace though not the character of Baptism.

The following passage from the same work (i. 12) describes another effect of the Schism:

See how many and how great things may avail nothing for want of some one thing, and what is that one thing? Hear it from the Apostle, not from me: *If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, &c.* (1 Cor. xiii.). What then could it profit them to speak with the tongues of angels in the sacred mysteries, to prophesy like Saul or Caiphas, not only to know but to have the sacraments like Simon Magus, to have faith like the demons who confessed Christ, to distribute their substance to the poor as is done even in many heresies, even to deliver their bodies to the flames for the faith in times of persecution; as they do all this in a state of separation, *not seeking to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace* (Ephes. iv.), they cannot attain to eternal life.

For the convenience of reference, we have taken our extracts from the two tomes named at the head of our article, and very sparingly even from these; but we can assure the reader who may wish to pursue the matter farther, that we have only touched the fringe of the subject, and that he will find not only in these tomes, but also in the Saint's other works, an inexhaustible mine to draw from. However, we feel confident that from the foregoing extracts a sure judgment can be formed as to St. Augustine's teaching, which may be summed up in the following propositions:—

1. Schism, wilful, formal Schism, is a separation from the Catholic Church in communion with the Roman See.
2. No possible circumstance or combination of circumstances can justify or excuse such a Schism.
3. Schism is a most grievous sin.
4. A state of Schism, though only inherited, is a state of damnation.
5. In a state of Schism no sacrament can produce effects of sanctifying grace.
6. There are, moreover, special reasons why no absolution from sins can be valid in a Schismatical body.
7. There can be no real and perfect merit for even the most heroic works performed in a state of Schism.
8. The Donatists, with their valid orders, great hierarchy, and unbroken succession of bishops, were notorious and unmitigated Schismatics.
9. Their unbroken succession availed them nothing since their separation from the Apostolic See, and was merely *material* from that date.

10. There can be no such thing as communion with the Catholic Church without communion with the Roman Pontiff.

Whatever may be thought of these propositions in the abstract, we do not see how any one can doubt that they represent the teaching of St. Augustine. And now, to return to our Anglican friends, what have they got to say to this? Will they accept or reject St. Augustine. If they reject him, they retract all that they have been saying about his Anti-Roman spirit, and his championship of national churches; if they accept him, how shall they calm the consciences of those who fear the Anglican Church, is at least a Schism?

Some Anglicans cut the matter short by denying the parity between themselves and the Donatists, "whose great crime was their arrogant pretension that they were the only true Church of Christ." But any one can see that in St. Augustine's eyes their great crime was the Schism, and that this "arrogant pretension" was chiefly a matter of ridicule.

There is a small party of Anglicans that teaches Catholic doctrine, claims for their church valid orders and jurisdiction, and adopts most of the externals of Catholic worship; they always speak as if their church resembled themselves, whereas it is only prevented by legal difficulties from utterly exterminating them as heretics. We cannot, therefore, take them as representing their church; yet, as they are the inventors of several devices for eluding the force of St. Augustine's teaching, we cannot avoid noticing their theories. First among these comes the great Branch Theory, by which they seem to mean that all Episcopal Churches, especially the Latin, Greek, and Anglican, are branches of the Catholic Church. What a world of trouble this bright idea would have saved St. Augustine; but unfortunately it never occurred to him, although few things worth thinking of escaped his notice. But, in any case, he never could have reconciled the Donatists to such a monstrosity as a Catholic Church consisting of separate sects or Schisms. And now, if he never thought of such a thing for the Donatists, who came so near the Catholic Church, is there any chance that he would think of it for Anglicans who are so immeasurably distant?

Another device of these men is to advise their followers to

hope and wait for better days, the coming days of *corporate reunion*. Well, no one ever laboured harder than St. Augustine for corporate reunion, but while doing so he warned every individual Donatist to consult immediately for his own salvation by abandoning the Schism.

Another advice often given is "to wait patiently, like the Catholics of Antioch, who had to live in a state of Schism for many years, until God in His own good time delivered them." But the Schism of Antioch was *material*, not *formal*; neither party was outside the pale of *Catholic communion*; neither party rejected the communion of the Roman Pontiff, but on the contrary all eagerly claimed it, as we learn from St. Jerome, in two most pathetic letters written to Pope Damasus (Ep. xv. xvi., T. i. Ed. Migne). Hence there were saints at both sides. We are not counting, of course, the Arian or other heretical bishops. It was altogether a case of disputed election to the See; the Pope could not acknowledge two bishops in the same See, and hence one was necessarily unrecognised and out of *ecclesiastical communion*. What parity can any one pretend to find between this state of things and that which exists in the Anglican Church? The Donatists never sought support from this Schism, nor did it seek any from them. Nor did St. Augustine, the arch-enemy of Schisms, ever think it worth his while to attack Lucifer of Cagliari for his share in this Schism, although he severely condemns him for the subsequent Schism of the Luciferians which formally broke with the Bishop of Rome (Ep. clxxxv. 47).

"The original constitution of the Church" is another formula which is made to do duty in various ways, although this constitution no longer exists; that is, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Provincial Synods no longer possess the extensive jurisdiction they once exercised; "owing to the usurpations of the astute Bishop of Rome." We always thought the original constitution of the Church was its government by Bishops with a supreme visible head and centre of unity; and that the great enemies of the other "original constitution" were the Court Bishops of Constantinople, not the Bishop of Rome. But let that pass. A typical Anglican thus describes this "original constitution" (*Tablet*, March 26, 1892):

I shall say then that our Lord gave the plenitude of spiritual jurisdiction to the Apostles, probably but not certainly reserving to St. Peter a personal leadership; that the Apostles associated others with themselves in this jurisdiction; that within a few years, by an Apostolic enactment, of which there is no record extant, but which must be assumed on a well-known principle enunciated by St. Augustine, the exercise of this jurisdiction was limited by geographical bounds, so that each possessor of it had a defined sphere with the title of bishop; that as for certain purposes combined action of bishops was necessary, a grouping of dioceses was called for *ex necessitate rei*; that this grouping conveniently followed the civil divisions of the empire, and so the provincial system arose, and became established as the normal organisation of the spiritual kingdom; that wider groupings were at times found convenient, and so patriarchates had their rise; that when once a diocese is by customary law attached to such a group, the bishop thereof cannot, without the gravest peril, break loose from it, especially as from the other members of the group (ordinarily represented by the metropolitan) he received his apostolic jurisdiction; that within such a defined sphere of spiritual jurisdiction, no external authority may ordinarily interfere; that there is a body of doctrine—the Catholic faith, and of disciplinary institutions—the fundamental principles of Canon Law, which no local authority can vary or abrogate; but that subject to this limitation, the episcopate of each province enjoys the plenitude of Apostolic authority to bind and loose.

This is as good as Darwin's "Genesis of Species," and reminds one of Topsy's account of herself in "Uncle Tom's Cabin": "She wasn't made at all; she growed." In this imaginary account, there is no allusion to the one power whose action or consent could impart validity or life to the system. It is very like the artificial man that had everything but the breath of life. How heartily St. Augustine would have enjoyed it we may infer from the quiet humour with which, in his letter to Generosus, he disposed of Petilian's pretensions to jurisdiction without any connection with Rome. We have related elsewhere how the Bishops of his native Numidia informed Pope Gregory the Great, that the very peculiar constitution of their church had come down from the days of St. Peter himself; which could only mean that St. Peter sent the first bishop to Carthage with power to establish a hierarchy, just as he sent St. Mark to Alexandria. It is a remarkable fact, that the extent of the power exercised by the Bishop of Carthage as Primate of Africa was nearly the same as that exercised by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and was much greater than that exercised by

the Patriarch of Antioch ; this arose probably from the fact that Peter during his long stay at Antioch had fully organised those regions and invested their numerous metropolitans with those rights which afterwards restricted the power of their Patriarch.* This account is intelligible, both historically and canonically ; it is in accordance with the known practice of the Popes, not only during the ages of persecution, but for many ages after, while communication remained slow and difficult. The first Apostles of England, Ireland, Germany, &c., all went forth with power from Rome not only to preach the Gospel but to establish national hierarchies. If then our Anglican friend will only add the *action or consent* of Peter and his successors, we shall think his sketch admirable ; if not, we can only class it with the theories of Darwin or Topsy. How, for instance, can he explain the formation of the hierarchy in Egypt, where there was only one bishop, the Bishop of Alexandria, for generations after St. Mark ? Either St. Mark's commission from Peter included the power to establish a hierarchy, and passed on to his successors ; or some one of Peter's successors conferred this power on some successor of St. Mark. Jurisdiction, even in civil matters, cannot be assumed at will ; it must come from some competent authority. The single point, limitation of jurisdiction, for which St. Augustine's *dictum* is quoted, may be readily admitted ; but for this writer's general position his name cannot be used. But, this word *limitation* is fatal to the theory advanced ; for, even supposing the Apostles had left their jurisdiction, as here described, in the regions visited by themselves, how was it to be communicated to the rest of the world ? For this, some one's jurisdiction should be permanently *unlimited* ; who was that to be ? The African bishops at all events knew who it was ; when, during the long Vandal persecution, the jurisdiction of their Primate had been lost or at least confused, he applied to Pope Gregory the Great for its renewal. Our Anglican friends could have taught him a simpler plan, namely to apply to the provincial synod ; since, quite independently of Rome, "the episcopate

* If this "original constitution" was a mere "growth" how was it so different in different places ? It would take Darwin himself to explain this ; for, his "survival of the fittest" will hardly meet the case. The only intelligible explanation is, that there was some presiding authority that arranged the matter according to the needs and circumstances of each region.

of each province enjoys the plenitude of apostolic authority to bind and loose."

But this is not all; here is the very next sentence of this strange epistle. "If this be the divinely ordered Constitution of the Church, of course the Providence of God will secure the accomplishment by these means of all the purposes for which the Church exists." What is the use of reasoning with one who can thus, in the same breath, call his system a growth of circumstances and a divine institution? Then, he professes to speak for the Church of England; but the Church of England is practically unanimous in accusing the Bishop of Rome of having gradually destroyed the "Original Constitution of the Church." Therefore, for the Church of England it no longer exists. Yet this *non-existing* Constitution is still made to do wonderful things; it validates the strange elections of Anglican bishops, it gives them jurisdiction, it makes them successors of the Apostles. This "original constitution" existed in full force in St. Augustine's day; under it he received all his powers; but, when the poor Donatists acted on it, he utterly denied their claim to be regarded as true bishops with episcopal rights and jurisdiction. And yet he never doubted the validity of their orders, and had very little to complain of in their doctrine. The contrast with the Church of England in these respects is manifest to every one.

But, may not this "original constitution" exist still *de jure*? And if so, may not the Anglican bishops act under it? Well, they *do not* act under it; they act under the Crown. But the Crown had no right to abolish the "Original Constitution of the Church?" Well, every one knows it did not abolish it; for it had ceased to be in use here centuries before the Reformation. What it did abolish was the *real* original and divine Constitution of the Church. But suppose, *per impossibile*, that the whole Bench of Bishops took it into their heads to act fully on this "Original Constitution," they must begin by proving that it ever existed *de jure* without the consent of Peter and his successors. We know that a distinguished writer, thought to be one of themselves, dispensed them from this little formality, and even quotes St. Augustine to calm their consciences (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1887, p. 262):

We for our part believe it probable that St. Augustine in our circumstances would accept our ecclesiastical position. . . . He never had to face the condition of things which now exists, a contradiction between the doctrine of Rome and the doctrine of Scripture.

The insinuation that the Donatist controversy was not a Scriptural one has no foundation whatever, for never was there a sect or Schism that relied more on Scripture *versus* Rome; nor was there ever one that was more categorically refuted. With this exception, the plea here put forward is more plausible and straightforward than those we have been dealing with; yet, we confidently leave it to the judgment of our readers, merely observing that it is an appeal from what St. Augustine *did* to what he *might do*, were he now alive.

St. Augustine often accuses the Donatists of raising false or irrelevant issues in order to obscure the question (Ep. 141, Brev. Collat., &c.); and on one occasion he says of them, *Nihil aliud magnis viribus agentes nisi ut Nihil ageretur.* Anglicans seem to follow pretty much the same system, although we should be sorry to accuse them of acting from the same motive. But still the fact is quite patent to every one. The all-important question is about actual concrete Schism; and they turn off to discuss such quibbles as mutual recognition, visible facts, aggregate of churches, test of communion, easily ascertainable guarantee, unity of life, &c.: and all clearly tending to produce the impression that schism is not schism, or at least that it is impossible to tell what is or what is not schism at present, and that therefore schism can be really no sin, or at most only a very venial sin. We know these gentleman give very good definitions of Schism in the abstract, but the tendency of their teaching in the concrete is to produce the above-mentioned impressions, however good may be their own intentions. Let us examine a few of these formulas which we find ready to our hand in the letters of our typical Anglican, addressed to the *Tablet* during the controversy about the Stroud Green Catechism in the first months of last year; he candidly tells us (March 26) that they represent the ideas current in his party.

“The aggregate of churches” means at least the Latin, Greek, and Anglican churches; and the chief “visible fact” is the refusal of this “aggregate” to admit the Papal claims.

(February 27, March 12 and 26). The theory is that until "the aggregate of churches" speaks with a united voice, we can have no authoritative decision on pending questions, and especially on the Papal claims. What a fine start this doctrine would have given to Pelagianism, but fortunately it was not the doctrine of St. Augustine. Soon after the appearance of the heresy in Africa his friends, Aurelius of Carthage and the Primate of Numidia, call provincial synods; their synodical letters are sent on at once to Rome; he supplements them by a confidential letter signed by himself and his friends, Aurelius of Carthage, Alypius of Tagaste, Evodius of Usala, and Possidius of Calama (Ep. 177); answers are received in due course from Pope Innocent; and then Augustine, preaching soon after at Carthage at the tomb of St. Cyprian, says (Serm. cxxxi. 10): "The deliberations of two councils were sent to the Apostolic See; rescripts have thence arrived; the cause is ended."

The unity of life [Feb. 13] consists of the baptismal grace given to all, the grace of order, the continued use of the sacraments, and the unity of the Apostolic rule of the Episcopate throughout the world. . . . It causes Rome, Constantinople, and Canterbury to be still one with a real unity.

Surely, on this principle the Donatists and the Catholics were still one with a "real unity;" and no language can be too strong to condemn the barefaced uncharitableness of St. Augustine in denying the grace of their sacraments, the jurisdiction of their bishops, and their chance of life eternal. We know it is pretended that all this was because they erected altar against altar in *their own country*; but the very essence of their Schism, in his estimation, was their separation from the *orbis terrarum*, and "their blaspheming of the Apostolic See with which they did not communicate" (c. Petil. ii. 118, 162). Hence, he hardly ever alludes to their separation from the Catholic Primate, the Bishop of Carthage, or from their local Catholic bishops; he hammers away incessantly at the one point, their separation from the *unity of all nations* and from Peter's successors; although of course it was only through the local Catholic bishops they could be in communion with Rome. He knew nothing about those subtle distinctions by which

Anglicans make out English Catholics to be only "Papists" and Schismatics.

"What easily ascertainable guarantee have we that the persons claiming to exercise Apostolic authority are really possessed of it?" This is the question which our typical Anglican proposes to himself, and certainly his answers (March 26) are a curiosity; *fruits of righteousness and mutual recognition* are his only tests. The first he considers "of enormous moral weight," but not very practical; on the second he asks immortal souls to stake their all. We shall examine it just now; but cannot resist the temptation of first asking ourselves what test St. Augustine would apply, if he found himself in some strange city with two rival bishops. He would certainly apply the test which his friend St. Jerome applied at Antioch, and would simply ask which is the Catholic bishop in communion with Rome? There were two bishops at Cirta, and we saw how quickly he disposed of the pretensions of one of them, Petilian, by the simple test of Papal communion. Being asked why he remained in the Catholic Church he winds up by saying (*c. Epist. Fund.* 5):

And there are many other things which most justly retain me in her bosom; the consent of peoples and nations retains me; . . . I am retained by the succession of priests, down to the present Episcopate, from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of His flock; finally, I am retained by the very name *Catholic*, which that Church alone has obtained, not without reason, among so many heresies; so that, although all heretics wish to be called Catholics, if a stranger asks for the Catholic Church, not one of them will dare to show him his own conventicle.

To this our Anglican friends reply (Feb. 13): "This was an admirable test for Augustine's time, but since the times of Cerularius at least it has been inoperative." Well, if so it was inoperative long before Augustine's time, and it was a great mistake for him to have applied it at all. In his work "On Heresies" he enumerates about eighty-seven sects; many of these existed in his own time and had fully organised hierarchies; the Donatists alone had several distinct hierarchies, one of which numbered about four hundred bishops, that is more than all the Greeks and Russians together; and yet in face of all this he never hesitates to apply his tests—Catholicity and Papal Communion.

But it is time to return to our puzzle, "mutual recognition." We candidly admit that we can hardly make out what it means; all we can infer from the explanation given is that it ensures the jurisdiction of bishops; that it may consist of any occasional and even rare civilities exchanged between the heads of very distinct communions; that the more distinct they are the better; and that in fine it does away with Schism altogether. As illustrations we have the recent civilities between Canterbury and Kieff, with a few others, and the whole winds up with this triumphant sentence: "This is the kind of mutual recognition which guarantees on both sides the possession of the Apostolic commission." Alas for the acuteness of Augustine! He never realised the fact that while he was wasting his time in denouncing the Donastic bishops they, in their various *fractions*, were conferring full jurisdiction on each other by the simple expedient of "mutual recognition," especially when merging their own differences to attack the common enemy. And worse still, Augustine unwittingly contributed to all this himself by his numerous *civilities*. He carried on at one time a friendly correspondence about religion, not only with their representative laymen (Ep. 34, 35, 43, 44), but even with their bishops (Ep. 22, 33, 49, 87). While yet only a priest he is asked by the Donatists of Hippo to join them in forcing their common enemy, Fortunatus the Manichean, into a public discussion; he consents without difficulty, and holds the discussion himself in the public baths of Sozius for two days. Again, he often compliments them on their almost complete orthodoxy (Ep. xciii. 46), and on their freedom from Arianism, and for this returns public thanks to God (c. Crescon. iii. 38; De Hœresibus, lxix.) Much less "mutual recognition" would suffice to make distinct communions *one*, by a real unity too, in Anglican theology. But such an idea of the one church, one kingdom, one fold, one house, one mystic body of Christ, never entered the mind of St. Augustine.

"Customary law" is another cure for Schism, much relied on by Anglicans (March 26). But, surely, they ought to reflect that the force of such usage or law is derived from the presumed consent of the supreme authority. If ever any

hierarchy had an apparent right to claim jurisdiction by "customary law" it was the great Donatist hierarchy. They had preserved the old organisation of the African church in its minutest details; they had their Primate of Carthage, their Metropolitans, and their Provincial Councils; they were in no sense whatever a mere creation of the State; they sought no jurisdiction from the State; they elected their bishops freely; their succession was unbroken *materially*, and yet St. Augustine sternly tells them that they are no true bishops, that they have no jurisdiction, that they have no Apostolical succession. Our Anglican teachers could have told them better: namely, that they had real jurisdiction from their co-provincials and metropolitans, "and that the only test of communion with the one Church is communion with the orthodox bishop of the diocese, who has mission from his co-provincials or the metropolitan, their representative" (January 2). We may apply to this the words of St. Augustine already quoted: "See how many and how great things may avail nothing without some one thing."

"The living voice" is mentioned with honour in these letters, although of course flagrantly misapplied. For Anglicans it is "dumb" on the pending questions, and must remain so until an Ecumenical Council of "the aggregate of churches" can be got to meet. We have already seen that such was not St. Augustine's doctrine; but we may here give his answer to a similar plea on a memorable occasion. The Pelagians, after their final condemnation by Rome, went into a state of formal Schism, led by the celebrated Julian of Eclanum and eighteen other Italian bishops; they demanded a General Council to examine the whole matter, in which their party should be fully represented. What was St. Augustine's answer? "You still look for an examination which has been already completed at the Apostolic See" (Opus Imper. ii. 103).

Our typical Anglican says (January 2), "that the whole Anglo-Roman controversy turns on the question whether the Papal prerogatives are *jure divino* or *jure ecclesiastico*"; well then, let him and his friends advise their followers to study this fundamental question for themselves. All the evidence on the *jus divinum* is now quite accessible in the special works

of Allies, Lindsay, Count Murphy, Rivington, Richardson, Livius, &c. This evidence certainly convinced St. Augustine ; and what is more, it seems to have convinced the Donatists, who constantly maintained an Anti-Pope at Rome ; what they denied was not the Primacy, but the legitimacy of the successors given to Peter at Rome, who, as they said, were elected by *Traditors* and communicated with *Traditors*. How, then, can any conscientious Anglican so far despise this evidence as not even to examine it ? Our typical Anglican says (February 27), that on this subject the "aggregate of churches" is practically *dumb* ; and of course it must remain so for at least this generation, and probably much longer, on his own principles. The natural conclusion is, that every Anglican ought to examine diligently this evidence, but that is not his conclusion ; his conclusion is, "that we have to find some (other) test available for our own time" (February 13). What other tests he has found we have already seen.

We are not writing on the general subject of Schism ; we are simply describing St. Augustine's attitude towards the Schism with which he had to deal. We think it must be quite plain to every one that his teachings on the subject are totally at variance with those propounded by Anglicans, and that he would consider their whole theory as simply an effort to construct a pyramid without a base, or an arch without a keystone.

To avoid needless repetition, we have omitted very many confirmatory passages and statements already inserted in this REVIEW (July 1890-1891).

The Author of
"ST. AUGUSTINE: AN HISTORICAL STUDY."

ART. IX.—THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament*, par l'Abbé A. LOISY ; *Leçons Professées à l'École Supérieure de Théologie de Paris*, 1890–91. Paris : Maisonneuve. 1891.
2. *Introductio Generalis in Utriusque Testamenti Libros Sacros*. Auctore R. CORNELY, S.J. Paris : Léthielleux. 1889.
3. *History of the Canon of the New Testament*. By B. F. WESTCOTT (Bishop of Durham). Cambridge. 1855.
4. *History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church*. By Prof. E. REUSS ; translated by D. HUNTER, B.D. Edinburgh : Hunter. 1891.
5. *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Von TH. ZAHN. Erlangen : Deichert. 1888–91.

IT is a commonplace to observe that the vast mass of detail which has been accumulated by the intellectual activity of the last hundred years has oppressed every department of human knowledge. It becomes daily more difficult to discern the bearing of facts that lie so thick on every side ; to see the forest because of the trees. The disadvantages of this are obvious and generally recognised ; one counterbalancing gain is less noticed, yet is of much importance. The collection of facts, the tendency of which is unknown, excludes at least the influence of prejudice, and insensibly rectifies conclusions which had been based on one-sided grounds. This result has, as we should expect, been most marked in the progress of religious controversy. Points that had been hotly contested since the Reformation, have been implicitly or explicitly abandoned by non-Catholics, so that new issues have been substituted for old ones, often without the change being perceived by either party to the controversy. One of the most important of these disputed questions is the position occupied by Scripture in the primitive Church. The subject has been approached, not dogmatically, but from the historical side,

and in answer to the question, in what circumstances, and at what time, did the collection of books known to us as the New Testament come to be recognised as inspired. This question arose out of the attack on the authenticity and inspiration of Holy Scripture which has continued throughout the last century. Catholics, who have been less directly interested than orthodox Protestants, have good reason to be grateful to the latter for the zeal, ability, and learning with which the attack has been met. To mention only the chief among many excellent works—Dr. Westcott's volume was an effective reply to the objections of the Tübingen school in its earlier phases. The author of “Supernatural Religion” will have done the permanent service of eliciting from Dr. Lightfoot the essays in which he finally disposed of the pretensions of that work, and from Dr. Sanday a valuable contribution to the same subject. More recently Dr. Salmon's “Introduction to the Study of the New Testament” has summed up the evidence for the orthodox position so vigorously, that his work might be warmly recommended to Catholic students, if one did not feel that praise from such a quarter would do violence to his aggressive Protestantism. In Germany the amount of work done has been much greater even than here, and its results diverge more widely from the opinions formerly current among non-Catholics. The ground was broken by Credner, in his “History of the Canon,” which is too well known to need more than mention. Since then it is impossible to enumerate more than the chief writers on the subject—Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Zahn, and Lipsius. Reuss' volume is of value as containing the most outspoken account of the bearing which the history of the Canon must have on the Protestant Rule of Faith. Finally, Harnack in his “Dogmen-geschichte,” and in some of his lesser works, has written much on the subject, so that we are able to profit by his fertility of suggestion and abundant knowledge of the literature of the early Church. It may be said generally of all these writers, that they tend to minimise the evidence for the early reception of the canonical books of the New Testament. I must, of course, not be taken as agreeing with them, if I confine myself strictly to my subject, and do not turn aside to traverse or qualify many of the statements I quote. Such a tendency is

an inevitable reaction from the views as to the self-sufficiency of Scripture, formerly current among non-Catholics, and now seen to be untenable. My object is to establish, by the testimony of those outside the Church, that the history of the reception of the New Testament by the Christians of the two first centuries is consistent with the Catholic teaching as to the relation between Scripture and the authority of the Church, and inconsistent with all other opinions. We shall find, to use Professor Reuss' words : "the Catholic Church has remained faithful to its principle down to our own time."* It is hardly necessary for me to specify what that principle is. The Church teaches that she alone is the supreme judge of the meaning of Scripture and the norm by which all interpretation is to be tested. Further, she claims to decide what is, or is not, Scripture ; not as thereby conferring any inspiration on the books thus canonised, but as declaring them to be inspired. In the exercise of this power, she has added from time to time in the past to the Canon of Scripture such books as she judges to be inspired, and reserves the authority to do so in the future. Her judgment that certain books are inspired has been expressed ; either by explicit teaching, or by authorising them to be read in public worship.†

The theory which Luther attempted to set up in place of the Catholic doctrine is more complicated. If I rightly understand it, he claimed, not merely to interpret Scripture, but also to determine, by a subjective test, what books are inspired ; by finding in them the doctrine of justification by faith only. The application of this test led him to consider some books—though inspired—of less value than others ; and to reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of St. James and St. Jude. But there was at the same time a tendency in his own mind, and still more in the minds of his followers, to seek for an objective basis for the books of Scripture, which was found in their universal acceptance by Christians. This was clearly expressed by Brentius in the "Confessio Wirtembergica" (1551) : "Sacram Scripturam vocamus eos libros canonicos V. et N. Testamenti, de quorum auctoritate in-

* P. 77.

† Franzelin : *De Script. Sac. Thesis xv.*

Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.”* Such a definition would not have included the second Epistle of St. Peter, which was nevertheless accepted by Lutherans; but with this exception the two statements are not mutually incompatible.

Those who framed the Anglican Articles were less successful in escaping from ambiguity. In the Articles of 1552 nothing is said of the books included under the title of Holy Scripture. The omission was supplied in 1562 by borrowing from the Wurtemburg Confession just quoted, and declaring that “in the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church.” No list was given, but the Church of England did not follow Luther in rejecting the “antilegomena” of the New Testament, as this general principle would have required. Dr. Westcott’s statement, therefore, that “the teaching of the Church of England as to the Canon of the New Testament is not removed beyond all question,” is so far within the truth as to be almost ironical.

The so-called “Reformed Churches” derived a more consistent test of the Canon from the relentlessly logical mind of Calvin. In the Confession which he and De Chaudieu drew up, he put the consent of the Church in the second place, and appealed chiefly to “the testimony and internal persuasion of the Holy Ghost, who makes us discern ‘Scripture’ from the other ecclesiastical books.” The same line is taken by all the later Calvinist symbols; of which the Westminster Confession may be taken as the clearest instance.† Barclay, the apologist of the Society of Friends, helped probably by his Catholic training, drew the inconvenient conclusion that the true Rule of Faith was—not Scripture, as the earlier Reformers had asserted, but—the subjective testimony of the Spirit to each individual believer. He consequently urged that this was the only test of the canonicity of any book of Scripture; that, if it was rejected, men must return to Rome, and accept

* The best collection of Protestant Confessions on this subject is to be found in Professor Charteris’ valuable work, “Canonicity,” pp. 36 *sqq.*

† “Notwithstanding” the other evidences that Scripture is the Word of God, “our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts” (Art. V.).

the infallibility of the Church—"let any one find a middle course if he can."*

These were the chief views as to the origin of the Canon of Scripture put forward when systematic historical investigation was in its infancy. We will now proceed to inquire which of these doctrines was held in the early Church, during the time when the Canon was being formed; and how far the opinions of orthodox and sceptics outside the Church have been affected by their mutual controversies.

Among Anglicans, the chief result has been a clearer recognition of the importance of the Church as the witness to the canonicity of the books of the New Testament. Dr. Westcott frequently insists on this truth.

He says, for instance :

The strength of negative criticism lies in ignoring the existence of a Christian society from the Apostolic age, strong in discipline, clear in faith, and jealous of innovation. It is then to the Church, as a "witness and keeper of Holy Writ," that we must look both for the formation and the proof of the Canon. The written rule of Christendom must rest finally on the general confession of the Church, and not on the independent opinions of its members. It is impossible to insist on this too frequently or too earnestly.†

Moreover, he fully admits, with that candour for which he is so conspicuous,‡ that the primitive Church did not consider its office limited to being a witness and keeper of Scripture.

The successors of the Apostles did not, we admit, recognise that the written histories of the Lord, and the scattered Epistles of his first disciples, would form a sure and sufficient source and test of doctrine when the current tradition had grown indistinct or corrupt.§

Dr. Salmon, too, urges very forcibly that the existence from the beginning of a Christian Church is proof enough that the New Testament did not originate in the haphazard way supposed by Renan. But he appreciates more fully than the

* See the whole remarkable passage quoted in Möhler's "Symbolism," p. 388.

† "History of the Canon of the New Testament," p. 15.

‡ The following example of Dr. Westcott's candour is worth repeating here, though it has no connection with my present subject:—"There is something mournful in the silent shadowy line of the Roman Pontiffs during the first three centuries. They seem only to be heard when they claim the powers which their successors gained" ("Introd. to Gospels," p. 396).

§ P. 65.

Bishop of Durham, that any authority which should be a real witness to Scripture must be supreme.

The supreme authority in the Church [he says] is that which brings Apostles to its bar, tests their writings, and assigns to some the attribute of inspiration which it denies to others (if it be correct to say that the Apostles were not always inspired). But what that authority is I don't know.*

He appears to relieve himself from the difficulty by suggesting the analogy of general opinion in matters of literary taste which has ruled that Shakespeare is a greater poet than Beaumont and Fletcher.

The older non-Catholic view of the New Testament has been affected in another way by modern criticism. Both orthodox and sceptical critics have been led to the conclusion that the three Synoptic Gospels show unmistakable signs of being dependent upon a Gospel, oral or written, which had taken a very definite shape before any of them had been put together. I will only mention one point in connection with this very interesting subject. Dr. Salmon gives reasons for supposing that the parts of the narrative common to all three evangelists were derived from a written source; while the sayings of our Lord—which, though substantially identical, differ in detail—probably reached them as part of an oral tradition. He points out further that the matter common to the three first gospels (Dr. E. Abbott's "triple tradition") belongs only to our Lord's Galilean ministry, which few persons would be qualified to relate. An examination of the common matter leads him to think that the most probable witness to all this part of our Lord's life is St. Peter, whom he therefore believes to have been the author of the common basis of the three first Gospels.†

Nor are evidences wanting to show that Anglican theologians will be carried still farther from their old positions, as they become more familiar with the results of recent German investigation. For instance, the learned Bampton Lecturer for 1890 seems to have adopted Reuss' teaching as to the origin of the New Testament, without realising that it is inconsistent with the ordinary Anglican view concerning the

* Appendix, p. 9.

† Lecture 9.

relations of tradition and Scripture. A few quotations will suffice :

In the Apostolic age there is no traceable idea of any new collection of writings for the use of the Church. . . . There is no suggestion that our Lord directed His disciples to write. . . . The terms used in the history of the promulgation of the Gospel and the foundation of the Church never include the idea of writing, and they express every cognate idea so fully that they must be taken to exclude it. . . . It does not appear that any one of the writers of the New Testament thought of his writing as one which would become of general use in the Church, or would be read apart from the oral teaching which had been already communicated, and which formed the substance of the "faith once delivered to the saints."*

The first three chapters of Reuss' work, to which the Archdeacon refers, contain the amplest proof of all these statements. When, leaving apostolic times, the learned Strassburg professor comes to consider the origin of the Canon, he goes still farther. He says with perfect frankness that "the Catholic Church has remained faithful to its principle down to our own time;" and quotes St. Irenæus and Tertullian in proof of this, especially relying on the numerous well-known passages in the "de Præscriptione Hæreticorum." He might have alleged the whole treatise, for its very title—the "Demurrer against Heretics"—shows the author's object is to point out that heretics have to overcome a preliminary objection before issue can be joined with them, and their arguments heard. No appeal by them to Scripture should be admitted, nor should any argument based thereon be allowed. The only question to be discussed with them is, to whom has the teaching of the faith been delivered ; where this is found, there also will be the truth of the Scriptures and of their interpretation ; an argument based on Scripture can only lead to loss of temper or to confusion.†

* Archdeacon Watkins' "Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel," pp. 140, 141.

† 'Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, nec in his constituendum certamen quibus aut nulla aut incerta Victoria solum disputandum est cui competit fides ipsa ; a quo et per quos et quibus sit tradita disciplina qua fiunt Christiani ? ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem disciplinae et fidei ; illuc erit veritas Scripturarum et expositionum, et omnium traditionum' (cap. 16). As Dr. Westcott relies on this passage to show that the primitive tradition was merely hermeneutic, it is as well to note that Tertullian expressly says the truth of the Scripture as well as of its interpretation, is dependent on

Reuss might have strengthened his case by appealing to the great Alexandrines, Clement and Origen, but as he says,

It is needless to multiply quotations on this point. The Protestant opposition of the sixteenth century of itself testifies that Catholicism remained only too faithful in its attachment to this principle of subordinating Scripture to tradition, and only too logically pushed it to all its consequences.

Like other writers of the same school, Reuss has remarked that the heresies of the second century had another somewhat opposed result; they increased the veneration in which the Scriptures were held in the Church. But, after dwelling on this, he repeats that Irenæus and Tertullian, the representatives of Catholicism, affirm the collective and equal value of Scripture and Tradition, adding, "It is therefore by a singular delusion that certain modern authors transform these fathers into Protestant theologians."

Reuss' volume may be said to give the principal results of the criticism of the Tübingen school as far as it bore upon the history of the New Testament Canon; and I might, instead of him, have quoted Hilgenfeld as an authority for the same statements. A new direction was given to this, as to so many other historical questions, by Harnack. The principal advance made by him was his endeavouring to distinguish, more accurately than had before been done, the circumstances in which the Canon grew up, and the reasons which determined the choice of certain books as canonical and the exclusion of others.

As to the former of these points, he urges that the collection and canonisation of the books which make up the New Testament were necessary results of the struggles with the Gnostics and Marcion. Not only did the heretical appeal to the apostolical writings compel Catholics to take these as it were out of their opponents' hands, they had also to guard against mutilations and alterations of the text, which were not uncommon. Montanism made it still more urgent that there should be a clear line drawn between the inspired Christian writings and those which could lay claim to no such authority. The essence of this heresy in its early stage was the belief in

the prophecies of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla, and the assertion that these constituted a secondary and final revelation : to which the Church replied by declaring that the epoch of revelation was closed, and that the Holy Spirit had only been given in fulness and without measure to the Apostles. The conflict led in another way to the formation of the Canon. Doubts were thrown on the authority of certain books alleged by either side in the controversy ; and we find that ecclesiastical councils decided the question.*

Beyond this Harnack considers the early history of the Canon involved in obscurity, until it suddenly breaks upon us as generally accepted in the well-known fragments of Melito and the Muratorian Canon. This very obscurity is due to the acceptance of the books composing the New Testament being based merely on the authority of the Church, without regard to the individuals who may have been instrumental in selecting them. Clement, Origen, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, did not mention who made the collection, but received it simply as delivered to them by the Church ; and later, St. Augustine spoke only generally of the “*Sancti et docti homines qui examinare talia poterant.*”†

One point, however, Harnack regards as certain. The Catholic communities, to meet the needs of the time, canonised those works which on the ground of tradition they held to be apostolical in origin, and chose that recension of the text which was followed in the public services of the Church. In any doubtful case one test, he says, was looked on as of primary importance ; nothing was admitted as inspired which was adverse to the rule of faith—that is, to the Catholic doctrine as expounded by the legitimate pastors of the Church.‡ A fragment happily preserved for us by Eusebius§ shows us the practical application of this principle. Serapion, a bishop of Antioch about the end of the second century, found the people of Rhossos in Cilicia had in use a gospel ascribed to

* *Cp.* Tertullian *de pud.* cap. 10, where he says that the Shepherd of Hermas “*ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur.*” And again, cap. 20, “*receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ (Hebrews) illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum.*”

† *Cont. Faustum*, xxii. 79.

‡ He refers for the fullest proof of this to Tertullian, *Præscr. Haer.* 37 *sqq.*

§ *H. E.*, vi. 12.

St. Peter. After a cursory inspection he submitted it to be publicly read, but withdrew that permission on finding it contained matter contrary to the Catholic faith. Harnack's conclusion is that when the Canon was being formed the essential test whether a book belonged to it was not an historical but a dogmatic one; not whether it had been written by an apostle, but whether it conformed to the teaching of the Church. This view was traversed not altogether unsuccessfully by Professor Overbeck of Basel.* He admitted, indeed, that the Catholicity of the contents of any book had been always a condition necessary for its reception into the Canon; but he urged that the primary requisite was its apostolic authorship. In support of this he appealed with great force to the history of the inclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Canon; but he laid even more stress on the canonical character of the Epistle to Philemon. He quoted the statement of St. Jerome that many early writers had denied the inspiration of the latter epistle, because it was not written with a view to instruction; but in spite of this it was received as canonical, because written by St. Paul.†

In his later works Harnack practically accepts Overbeck's criticisms, with some exceptions on which I need not dwell here. I only want to draw attention to this point: the controversy led both the disputants to consider the relation in the early Church of Scripture to the Rule of Faith, and both were agreed that the teaching of the Church was held to be the norm and test of Scripture, and not conversely. In his "History of Dogma," Harnack draws out in a series of "Antitheses," the somewhat opposed results which he conceived were due to the establishment of the Canon. Most of these are not to my present point; and it would not be possible to accept them without considerable qualification. But the last gives a sufficiently good idea of their tendency to be quoted in full:

To the Church alone belonged the Apostolical writings, because she alone preserved the Apostolical teaching in the Rule of Faith. This was explained to heretics, and, on principle, no argument with them was

* "Zur Geschichte des Kanons." Chemnitz. 1880.

† Pref. in Ep. ad Philemonem. Opp. vii. 742 sq. The whole passage is of great interest in its bearing on the history of inspiration. St. Jerome does not say who the "plerique veteres" were; as far as my own reading goes, I have only met with the opinion in Origen (in Joan. i. 5).

based on Scripture, or on the sense of passages of Scripture. But in domestic questions Scripture was the final and completely independent appeal, against which even an ancient tradition was of no avail.

Harnack's account of the formation of the New Testament has met with a severe critic in Professor Zahn, who, in the course of his exhaustive work on the Canon, has been led to differ from some of Harnack's conclusions. The discussion has been conducted at a length, and with a warmth, which would hardly be possible out of Germany.*

I have not followed all its details, nor would they bear on our present subject. Where they differ, it will be found that Zahn is more orthodox than his opponent, putting the existence of a collected New Testament farther back than Harnack does. He traces "the roots of the New Testament to the first generation of Christians," though he agrees that there was a gradual development in the veneration in which the sacred writings were held, until by the end of the second century they had attained the position they have ever since occupied. Much of the difference between the two writers is due to a different estimate of the same facts; both, for instance, admit the impulse given to the formation of a Catholic Canon by Marcion's attempt at mutilation; but Zahn urges that the production of this new Canon is a proof that a Catholic one already existed. Again, Harnack asserted that the books composing the New Testament underwent considerable alteration about the time they were declared Canonical; while Zahn has shown good reason for believing that no such wholesale revision has taken place, and that we have the New Testament substantially as it was in the hands of the Apostolic Fathers. But these are only points of detail; the two authors differ most in the directions where they have looked for evidences of the Canon. Harnack dwelt particularly on the formal reception of the sacred books by some local council or bishop, after—it is to be supposed—examination of its contents and of the evidence for its Apostolic origin. He attached less than due importance to the informal reception of these works by their

* Those who desire to follow the controversy will find it in Harnack's "Das N. Testament um das Jahr 200," and in Zahn's "Bemerkungen zu Ad. Harnack's Prüfung;" and a review of the whole in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1, 1891.

being publicly read in the Church services. Zahn has the advantage of calling attention to the omission, and of pointing out that this indirect canonisation carries the evidence for the New Testament farther back than formal decisions would do. The disputants have each laid too exclusive a stress on one of the two ways in which, it will be remembered, I set out by saying the Catholic Church has canonised the books composing the New Testament. It would be nearer the truth to say, that these two methods belong to different stages in the history of the Canon. In the earlier period which preceded explicit definition, a position of special honour and authority was given to the writings of the Apostles by their public use in the Liturgy. When dealing with this stage of its history, M. Loisy very ably points out how significant it is that the Church should not have formulated a definite Canon, in opposition to the Gnostics on the one hand, who added a flood of apocryphal writings to the New Testament, or to Marcion on the other hand, who mutilated it wholesale. Reuss has suggested that this shows the pastors of the Church did not yet distinctly believe that the books composing the New Testament were divinely inspired. This view is, however, inconsistent, as Zahn has shown at length, with the references to the New Testament in the early Fathers; and it is inconceivable that books to which no special character attached should have been suddenly put on a level with the Old Testament by the orthodox writers throughout the whole Church.* The true solution has been put by M. Loisy with conspicuous ability. Christians believed from the beginning that the Apostles were endowed with the fulness of the Holy Ghost in an extraordinary and special degree.† But they had not yet explicitly realised that the inspiration of what the Apostles wrote in the execution of their pastoral office was a necessary effect of the Apostolic charisma, and they consequently did not at first speak of their works as inspired. In this the primitive Church did but follow the example of the Apostles themselves. No express claim to the inspiration of their writings is put forth by any of the

* The "suddenness with which the New Testament comes on us in Melito, Irenæus, and Tertullian," is a puzzle to Harnack, and a serious objection to his theory.

† S. Clem. Rom., 1, 43 & 47; S. Ignat ad Rom., iv. 3; Polyc., 3; Novatian de Trin., 29.

authors of the New Testament, with one exception. That exception—the Apocalypse—was at once put on a level with the prophecies of the Old Testament. Moreover, time was required for the spread throughout the Church of books primarily addressed to individuals and to local communities, even in an age when intercommunication was greater than it has ever been since until our own day. Reuss' explanation being therefore incorrect, the fact remains, that to the first attacks of heresy on the New Testament the Church did not oppose a formally defined Canon, but her own living authority. “The question of the mutual relations of Scripture and Tradition was thus resolved in fact, the first assault of error having shown the necessity, not for a book, but for an authority teaching the truth.”*

The second stage, of inquiry and formal decision, began in the Church after the rise of Montanism. That heresy, as I have said, called attention to the limits of written revelation, and led Catholics to perceive more clearly than before that this must be confined to works written by the Apostles themselves, or composed under their immediate authority. Hence followed a sharper distinction between canonical and non-canonical books; of which the principal result was the exclusion of the Shepherd of Hermas. This singular work was acceptable to neither party; the Montanists rejected it on account of its laxity, while the Catholics could not defend with any warmth a collection of visions, very like those put forward by their opponents, and undoubtedly later than the Apostolic age.[†] The doubts thrown on the Epistle to the Hebrews were apparently due to a similar tendency. Where Catholics came less closely in contact with Montanism, as in Alexandria, the line of demarcation between inspired Scripture and other primitive religious works was less sharply drawn. This is most conspicuous in Clement, as Harnack points out; but it may also be noticed in Origen.[‡] This writer was the first person of great ability who had been led to study the Canon of the New

* *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

† This, M. Loisy's suggestion, is by far the most plausible explanation of the discredit into which Hermas gradually fell.

‡ It has not, however, been sufficiently remarked, that both these Fathers often only express their own private opinion when they speak of any non-canonical work as inspired.

Testament, and had the advantage of comparing the opinions current in the East with those held in Rome. The test, whether any book was canonical or not, is for him, as for all the primitive Church, not his own judgment concerning it, nor its intrinsic character, but its recognition by the universal Church.* Indeed in his great theological work he enumerates the inspiration and interpretation of Scripture among the subjects which come to us on the authority of the Church.†

I have now reached the limit of my inquiry. All are agreed that by the time of Origen and Tertullian, at latest, the New Testament, in the same sense as we now have it, had been constituted. Its outline indeed was not perfectly distinct, some books were not received throughout the whole Church, and their claims were handled with a freedom that might surprise us, did we not bear in mind that the Church had issued no definition concerning them. Pending her decision there was not only full liberty to weigh the evidence for and against the canonicity of any given book; but it was clearly desirable that this should be discussed by those who were competent to do so. Such criticisms as those of Julius Africanus, Origen, and Dionysius of Alexandria, were the natural preludes to authoritative definition.

An attempt to decide the limits of the Canon merely by an appeal to history was made in the next century by the person of all others best qualified to do so, had the enterprise been possible. The confusion in which Eusebius left the question was due, as M. Loisy very acutely points out, to his endeavouring to give an answer by history alone to a question which is partly at least theological. What Eusebius failed to do can never be accomplished by those who have not before them a tithe of the evidence which was in his hands.

My object has been a much more simple and more feasible one. The relation of Scripture to the rest of Tradition, and of both to the teaching authority of the Church, is admitted by all to be the crucial point of difference between Catholics and non-Catholics. It seemed, then, worth while to inquire which view was held by Christians during the time when the Canon

* This is very clearly brought out by Hilgenfeld "Der Kanon und die Kritik des N. Test.," p. 47.

† *De Princip. 1, cap. 8.*

of the New Testament was being formed ; and what principles guided them in selecting some books and excluding others. My very brief survey will have shown that a great amount of information has been accumulated by writers outside the Church, to whose learning and honesty we are very greatly indebted. The result of their testimony is that, tried by this test, the Christians of the first two centuries were undoubtedly Catholics. It would be interesting to carry the history of the subject down to the rise of Protestantism and to the Council of Trent ; but I shall not regret I cannot do so here, if I send those who wish to pursue the subject to M. Loisy's excellent work, which deals with it very fully.

J. R. GASQUET.

Science Notices.

The Utilisation of Niagara.—At last the dream of the electrical engineer is realised ; the hitherto wasting forces of Niagara are to be harnessed to the dynamo and motor, and the neighbourhood of the voluminous Falls is speedily to become a vast manufacturing centre. At a recent meeting of the Society of Arts, Professor George Forbes, who is consulting electrical engineer to the Cataract Construction Company, gave a description of the huge hydraulic works that have just been completed for the utilisation of the Falls. The Professor pointed out that the situation of the Falls is specially favourable to the success of the scheme, both from an engineering and commercial view. As to the engineering facilities, the Falls possess the threefold advantages of (1) enormous volume of water ; (2) the considerable height of fall ; (3) the unvarying volume which is continually flowing. The cause of the regularity of flow is the enormous reservoir which supplies the Falls. The reservoir consists of Lakes Superior, with an area of 33,517 square miles ; Michigan, with an area of 24,000 square miles ; Huron, with an area of 28,193 square miles ; and Erie, with an area of 11,574 square miles ; being in all about 90,000 square miles of reservoir surface draining a watershed area of 241,235 square miles. Various investigators have given considerably different estimates of the volume of water which is continually flowing : the late Sir William Siemens thought that the flow of water over the Falls was sufficient to develop 16,000,000 of horse-power, but he probably over-estimated its powers. The Lake Survey Board has put the flow of water at 265,000 cubic feet a second. Mr. R. C. Reed makes it out to be 311,500 cubic feet a second. Regarding the commercial advantages, the Falls are situated at the eastern extremity of the enormous group of navigable lakes which form a highway for the transport of raw products, most of which require the expenditure of power to convert them into articles of commerce. Three principal lines of railway pass in the immediate vicinity of the land owned by the Company, and a terminal railway has been built by the Company to connect the various parts of their property with these three lines of railway. The Erie canal also passes from this point to the Hudson river and thence to New York, while Niagara Falls, being on the frontier of Canada, the whole of that country is open to commerce.

The method adopted by the Cataract Canal Company for utilising

the water power is as follows:—About a mile and a half above the American Fall they have dug out a canal 500 feet wide and 1500 feet long, with a depth of 12 feet. Along the edge of this canal wheel pits have been dug 160 feet deep, at the bottom of which turbines are to be placed. The water is admitted to the penstocks by lateral passages or head races which can be closed by gates. After the water has exerted its powers upon the turbines, it flows into a tunnel with a grade of 7 feet per 1000, which carries it to a distance of 67,000 feet under the city of Niagara Falls. The water is discharged into the chasm below the Falls just below the Suspension Bridge. Professor Forbes considers that the cutting of the tunnel was the most important piece of engineering. The tunnel passes through limestone and shale rocks. It was hoped at first that no lining would be necessary for the tunnel, but it became apparent that the rock on exposure to air became deteriorated, and the Company resolved to line it with four courses of bricks, though this procedure has considerably added to the cost of the work. The tunnel is shaped something like a horseshoe. It is about 19 feet wide by 21 feet high inside the brickwork, and has a cross sectional area of 386 square feet over its entire length. It was found necessary to line the canal with solid masonry. Apertures are left at definite points to admit water for the head races into the penstocks for the turbines. In digging out this canal it was necessary to make a coffin-dam at its outlet to prevent the works being flooded. A shaft has already been sunk sufficient to accommodate three of the 5000 horse-power turbines which are to be used in the distribution of power. These turbines are of the Girard or impulse type, revolving at 250 revolutions a minute. They are double, and they have a regulator for adjusting the flow of water. There are vertical shafts attached to the shafts of the turbines. These extend to the ground, and on their tops the dynamos are to be mounted. Twenty of these turbines will be required to utilise the full capacity of the tunnel, which is 100,000 horse-power. As regards the electrical plant, when Professor Forbes read his paper in December last the type of machinery to be used had not been finally settled. In electrical engineering, as in other branches, there are many ways of doing the same thing, and it has been the aim of the promoters of the Niagara enterprise to avoid any haste in selection. It seems, however, certain that the method of distribution will be by some system of alternating currents. Rights of way have been obtained for another tunnel on the American side of the same capacity as the one that has been made. A concession has also been granted for utilising the Horseshoe Falls on the Canadian side, and this will

probably provide 250,000 horse-power, making a total of 450,000 horse-power available.

Fifteen hundred acres of land have been bought up in the neighbourhood of Niagara Falls, on which it is intended to build a manufacturing city. Several enterprises have already applied for power, and it is Professor Forbes' opinion that the establishment of each separate industry will bring to the neighbourhood a large number of new industries.

We expect very shortly to have a copper refinery for electrolytic processes. This will naturally bring wire manufactories to the spot. Electric cables will also be made here, where the wire can be obtained cheapest. The wants of the Company alone are sufficient to require the establishment of an electrical factory, and the facilities for transporting machinery by land or water will be such as to make it an important centre for the manufacture of large electric machinery, either for lighting, for traction, or other purposes. And so it appears likely to proceed, the success of one industry leading to the establishment of another, until the whole land of the company, and much more besides, is used up in the raising of what may eventually become the greatest manufacturing centre of the United States.

Professor Forbes does not think the diversion of the waters of Niagara River will affect the picturesque character of the Falls. The present Company cannot use more than 450,000 horse-power. This is only 12 per cent. of the total water. A difference of 12 per cent. in the flow of water would not, he thinks, be noticeable. Professor Unwin, however, in the discussion which followed Professor Forbes' paper, took a different view of the future of Niagara. He said he thought the Americans would not leave Niagara alone until it had become of itself a mere rocky dell. Considering the utilitarian character of the American nation, it seems only too likely that his prophecy will be fulfilled.

The late Sir Richard Owen.—On December 18, 1892, the scientific world mourned the loss of Sir Richard Owen. Those who have perused the various biographical sketches of the illustrious naturalist which have appeared in the daily and other journals must have been especially struck with two features in his remarkably successful career: first, the prodigious quantity of original work which is embodied in his numerous papers, treatises, and other publications, and which extend over so wide a range that, to quote the recent words of Lord Kelvin, "there was scarcely any branch of the whole of natural history that he had not touched and enriched with the results of his investigation;" secondly, his gigantic powers of perseverance in coping with opposition which is memorialised in

the beautiful structure which forms the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. Possibly few of those who have increased their knowledge in natural history from the admirably arranged collection in that museum know how much they owe to the untiring efforts of the Professor. When Sir Richard Owen was first appointed superintendent of the Department of Natural History at the British Museum in 1856, the large collection of natural history specimens was crowded together in a totally inadequate space so that they could not be properly seen; in fact, quantities of treasures had to be stowed away in vaults and underground passages. As the Government of that time had set their face against purchasing any ground in the vicinity of Russell Street, the Professor was of opinion that it was better to sever the collection from the British Museum than to deny the public the sight of the nation's zoological treasures, and earnestly advocated their removal to an adequate building. But he was vehemently opposed. In 1862 a Bill was brought in by Mr. Gladstone for the purpose, but it was strongly opposed by Mr. Disraeli, who on the very day a second reading came on had just accused the Liberal party of a lavish expenditure of public money. The Bill was thrown out by a large majority, but temporary failure only served to further whet the edge of his determination, and ten years later the Bill was passed and the Professor secured a home at last for the natural history collection in the space that covers seven acres at South Kensington.

Amongst such a wealth of literary work as Owen has bequeathed to posterity it is difficult to make selection for mention, but amongst the most masterly of his productions are the essay on *The Pearly Nautilus*, which appeared in 1832, the Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in several volumes—this work afforded him his first opportunity of devoting himself to pure scientific research, for which he entirely abandoned the medical career on which he had entered in early life—the work on “*Odontography*,” his lectures on Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, his “*Archetype and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton*,” his memoirs on “*The Nature of Limbs*,” the papers on the Fossil Birds of New Zealand, and on some Fossil Mammals of Australia, the Manual of Palaeontology, his memoirs on the Classification and Geographical Distribution of Mammals, and his great work in three volumes on “*British Fossil Reptiles*.”

Although so much of the time of the Professor was taken up with pure scientific research, he devoted a considerable portion of it to a more practical branch of science, but one especially akin to the welfare of mankind—sanitation. He was amongst the first to

bring about those sanitary reforms which have made the English nation foremost in the application of hygienic principles in its large cities. From 1843 to 1846 he sat on the Commission to inquire into the health of towns. He made, in 1845, a report on the sanitary condition of Lancaster. He was appointed one of the Commissioners on the health of the metropolis, in 1846-1848. Those who had personal acquaintance with Sir Richard Owen can testify to the geniality of character that was added to his intellectual gifts. Many others with the writer will long remember the pleasant hours spent at his quiet cottage in Sheen Park, where, whatever might be the topic of conversation, he surrounded it with fresh interest from his superabundant knowledge, ever pointing out little facts and minute observations which escape the notice of all but the keenest observers, but which reveal the cause of their sequence and form, the attraction and life of the subject matter.

Anemometers.—Dines' New Anemometer.—The work of measuring the wind has been beset with difficulty, and no small part of that difficulty has perhaps lain in the endeavour to produce an instrument which should record all variety of wind with equal exactitude. When one remembers that the mean pressure of the wind at an inland station in England is barely over $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per square foot, but the actual pressure may amount to 30lbs. per square foot—i.e., 120 times the mean, one cannot be surprised that a pressure instrument should often give too small an indication to be noticeable. If our thermometers had to include a possible range of 120° , while the ordinary variations were within 1° , we should hardly expect to find them reliable in marking small daily variations. And it is, Mr. Dines tells us, just such an amount of possible variation that has to be faced in accurate measurement of wind pressure. Our national observatories, as I pointed out in a former note in this REVIEW, have been experimenting with a variety of anemometers, no single one yet showing general satisfactory results, and the Wind Force Committee of the Royal Meteorological Society in May, 1890, recommended direct comparisons of the various anemometers in use, with a view to obtaining more knowledge of the type of instrument suitable for general purposes and for special conditions of exposure and situation. A grant was given by the Society, and Mr. Dines carried out therewith a series of exhaustive experiments with five fairly representative instruments.

The instruments recorded simultaneously and automatically on the same sheet of paper; they were, some, pressure instruments, and some, velocity instruments—by name, the Kew Pattern Robinson

Anemometer; the Self-adjusting Helicoid Anemometer; Air Meter; A Foot Circular Pressure Plate; A Special Modification of Tube Anemometer. The first experiments, in the winter of 1890-91, were with three instruments only; in the summer of 1891 the Helicoid and Pressure Plate were obtained; and the result of the experiments with the five instruments during the winter of 1891-92 were embodied in a paper read by Mr. Dines before the Royal Meteorological Society in April 1892. In these last experiments about fifty yards of paper passed through the recording apparatus, and ninety separate observations were made. One of the first results of commencing the work was the emphasising of the importance of the question of exposure. Eighteen feet above the roof was found to be the necessary height to escape eddies from chimney-stacks and gables, and Mr. Dines was of opinion that the instruments interfered slightly with each other, though they were distributed over a square of about 12 feet. He eliminated this interference from his final values.

The reason of the differences between the records of the instruments was brought out in each case by these experiments in the most satisfactory way, tending to increase confidence in the record of each instrument, when working in the particular conditions suited to it. For instance, in his summary Mr. Dines stated, that "a light wind causes the pressure instruments to be too high, and the velocity instruments too low, but the error vanishes with a strong wind." And the reason of this he gives to be as follows:

If the wind drops to a dead calm, both the Tube and Pressure Plate will continue to indicate a velocity exceeding six miles per hour, although the friction has been reduced as much as possible. It is probable that most recording pressure instruments require a velocity of at least ten miles per hour before they move at all. With the velocity instruments the reverse effect occurs; before the velocity has dropped to zero, they have ceased to move, and hence it is inevitable that in a light wind the pressure instruments will be too high, and the velocity instruments too low. As the wind increases this discrepancy is greatly lessened in two ways.

He proceeded to explain how, and pointed out that the error may be considered to vanish when the mean velocity exceeds twenty miles per hour. The whole of the short summary was interesting. It stated that variations in intensity increase the readings of the Robinson and Pressure instruments, and bearing in mind the momentum of an easily moving Pressure Plate, and that the "action of a force depends not only on its magnitude, but also on the time during which it acts," it is easy to see how difficult it may be to obtain an accurate measurement of the absolute maximum wind pressure. The summary closes with the statement that "on the whole the mean

recorded by the Pressure Plate and Tube must be above the true value, and the mean recorded by the Helicoid and Air Meter must be below the true value."

A fact much dwelt upon by Mr. Dines was the determination of the factor of the Kew Pattern Robinson Anemometer; he maintained these experiments demonstrated conclusively that it must be between 2.00 and 2.27; and the factor 3 has been admittedly erroneous since 1874.

Mr. Dines was so impressed with the merits of the Tube Anemometer that he was incited to improve on the one he used in these experiments; he pointed out in his paper of April 1892 that the head was simple in construction, and strong, and that the instrument had the following advantages—that the recording apparatus could be replaced at any reasonable distance from the head, that the pipes could go round corners, and that there was no loss of power by friction in conveyance from the head.

He has preserved the head as it was, and has now fashioned an entirely novel indicating arrangement, replacing the cylinder and float, &c., by a special arrangement of curved glass tube and coloured liquid. The Tube Anemometer is essentially a pressure instrument, and there has been some prejudice against it on account, first, of its not showing breezes under three or four of the Beaufort scale when having the U-shaped tube for indicator, and, secondly, on account of its unsteadiness. Mr. Dines thinks the unsteadiness a merit, as it is owing to the wind, the variations of which it faithfully follows; anyhow, merit or error, he thinks it can easily be regulated. He arranges the scale so that indications may refer rather to the velocity than to the pressure, and as the average velocity is about one-tenth of the possible maximum of the wind, he is thus able to record the lightest winds with a scale that can include all. Mr. Dines has worked with this anemometer for nine months, and he assured the Royal Meteorological Society on November 16 last, that it has faithfully recorded velocity of the wind down to two miles per hour. For recording the maximum force he makes a slight alteration in the indicating apparatus. The instrument cannot register pressure beyond the actual amount, being so damped by the slow action of the liquid in the tube, but on the other hand it cannot register correctly an extreme pressure of exceedingly short duration such as one-fourth of a second. Mr. Dines pointed out, in conclusion, that this Tube Anemometer does record pressure, and that "the velocity graduations on the scale are made solely for the purpose of rendering light winds perceptible."

Notes on Social Science.

Moral Responsibility of Shareholders in the Labour Question.—This interesting phase of the great social problem has been treated by M. Emile Harmant in a paper read before the Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, the first part of which is reproduced in the March number of the *Revue Générale*. No one doubts that the individual employer of labour has duties towards the well-being of those whom he employs. But in these days of vast industrial enterprise, the largest bodies of workmen are employed, not by individuals, but by companies and syndicates. The moral responsibility which attaches to the employer cannot be dissolved into thin air merely because for the individual we substitute a large personality or corporation. Companies, according to M. Harmant, are invested with it in the same degree as if a single individual had charge of the same area of employment. We have a traditional grievance that when a corporation does wrong it has neither a body to be kicked nor a soul to be lost. That may be legally so, but morally and theologically, the reverse is the case. The truth is, it has several bodies, that might be very properly punished here, and several souls distinctly liable to punishment hereafter. M. Harmant very clearly traces this responsibility in the case of companies through the directors to the shareholders, on the safe principle that responsibility is inseparable from control. The acting manager, in direct and constant touch with the employed, is primarily responsible—in second instance the directors who appoint the manager—ultimately the shareholders, in so far as they can control the action of the directors. Responsible for what? For seeing that the company, as an employer of labour, acts properly and fulfils its obligations towards its employed. And that, according to M. Harmant, includes two things. First, it includes the right use of what he describes as its material influence, which, being interpreted, means the payment of proper wages—never mind who is to decide that!—the suitable housing of the workman, the provision of such helps as savings-banks, sick and benefit societies, syndicates of masters and men, and other social appliances which go to render the lot of the labourer less precarious. M. Harmant points the moral that if the company's management fail in any of these points it is peremptorily the duty of the shareholders in meeting assembled to compel them to

repair the error of their ways, and that they are morally responsible for doing so. But having done so, the shareholder is not to go away justified. For the writer of the paper does not at all admit that his responsibility ends there. He proceeds to extend it to a farther and higher plane of obligation—namely, the right use of the company-employer's moral influence. He holds that despite the changes which have done so much in the latter days to emancipate the workman, the employed depend, and will still continue in a very real and large degree to depend, upon the patronage of the employer. Thence, he argues, the labourer is always likely to seek the goodwill of his master, and to be in exactly the same measure, subject to his influence. For the proper use of this influence M. Harmant considers the employer, whether individual or corporate, is morally responsible. Hence the shareholder is to hold himself bound to see that the employés of his company shall have placed over them managers and foremen who will set them a good example in the fulfilment of their religious, and civil, and social duties, and whose personal influence will be exercised on the side of right. We think that with M. Harmant for his confessor, the ordinary investor in shares would have to examine his conscience far more fully than he is wont to do, or is likely to do; but not the less one cannot but feel that the plea and the principles urged are plainly in the right direction, and that their fulfilment would go an ideally long way to smoothe the solution of the social crisis. In any case it is high time that the shareholder should be reminded that he is his brother's keeper—especially when he employs his brother—and that his moral responsibilities do not commence and terminate with the drawing of his dividend.

A History of Socialism.—The application of the historical method to the elucidation of the social question is a sound and salutary proceeding, seeing that solid facts are by far the best weights with which to tie down the wings of the *doctrinaires*. But, quite apart from accurate researches on the statistics of the world's work and wages, which alone can shape a reliable judgment on the Labour Question, much light can be cast upon the significance of the social movement by tracing its origin and development in the public opinion of the last and present century. This task has been attempted by Mr. Thomas Kirkup in a volume of some three hundred pages. This work may prove useful as a manual to those who desire in short compass to obtain a general view of the movement as described by a sympathetic historian. In these days when so

many find "Socialism" a word to swear by or to swear at, according as they stand inside or outside of the paradise of property, any attempt to render more clear and precise its meaning and import can hardly be regarded as ill-spent time or wasted effort. For such a purpose, the following summary from Mr. Kirkup's introduction may prove not unuseful.

"The great German economist Roscher defines it (Socialism) as :

"those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal than consists with human nature."

Adolf Held says :

"We may define as Socialistic every tendency which demands the subordination of the individual will to the community."

Janet more precisely defines it as follows :

"We call Socialism every doctrine which teaches that the State has a right to correct the inequality of wealth which exists among men, and to legally establish the balance by taking from those who have too much in order to give to those who have not enough, and that in a permanent manner, and not in such or such a particular case, a famine for instance, a public calamity, &c."

Laveleye explains it thus :

"In the first place, every Socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality in social conditions, and in the second place, at realising those reforms by the law or the state."

Von Scheel simply defines it as the "economic philosophy of the suffering classes."

People who are suffering from the reaction which follows upon undue worship of the Teutonic intellect are heard to say that the cumbrous vagueness of certain German writers is due to the fact that such writers do not know what they themselves mean, and are not always honest enough to say so. Mr. Kirkup incidentally does something to confirm impressions of this kind by his object-lesson enabling us to compare the refreshing lucidity of French utterances with the shapeless figures which move in the mists across the Rhine. But to his own mind, none of the above-given attempts at definition is satisfactory. He very rightly protests against the objectionable mistake of indiscriminating minds which identify socialism with violence, lawlessness, and a revolutionary spirit, and "confounds the essence of the movement with an accidental feature more or less common to all innovations." He holds that the economic basis of prevalent socialism is "collectivism which excludes private possession of capital, and places it under social ownership in some form or other." It is to be noted that this programme does not, as many too hastily assume, exclude private property in other forms, or freedom in the disposition of the share which accrues to

the individual from associated labour. The succeeding chapters deal with early French Socialism, the Socialism of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, early English Socialism, Ferdinand Lassalle, Rodbertus, Karl Marx, the International, Anarchism, Purified Socialism, Socialism, and the Evolution Theory. In his concluding chapter on recent progress in Socialism, Mr. Kirkup says :

The participation of the Catholic Church of Germany in the social question dates from the period of the Lassalle agitation. In 1863 Döllinger recommended that the Church should intervene in the movement, and Bishop Von Ketteler, of Mainz, lost no time in expressing sympathy with Lassalle. In a treatise, entitled "Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum" (1864), Ketteler criticised the liberalism of the Manchester School in substantially the same terms as Lassalle, and recommended the voluntary formation of productive associations with capital supplied by the faithful. In 1868 the Catholic socialism of Germany took a more practical form ; it started an organ of its own and began to organise unions for the elevation of the working men. The principles of the movement were with some precision expounded by Canon Moufang in an electoral address at Mainz in 1871 and by the writers in their organ (p. 269).

The intervention of Protestantism in the question is of somewhat later date, and is fixed by Mr. Kirkup at 1878. The author hails Cardinal Manning as the most notable representative of those who have shown a commendable interest in social questions in England. Most readers of this work, even when they may find themselves unable to share the views and sympathies of the author, will rise from its perusal with fuller and closer conception of the aims of the social movement of our century.

Agricultural Union.—The feeling gains ground that the time has come when the agricultural section of the community should follow the example set by its industrial brother, and make itself articulate and influential by organising itself into Unions for the defence and promotion of its interests. This conviction finds an exponent in the Marquis de La-tour-du-pin Chambly, who contributes an interesting article on the subject to the last number of *L'Association Catholique*. The article unfolds a plan for the proposed organisation and representation of the agricultural classes. The plan consists of five points : (1) The division of the country into agricultural districts ; (2) The classification of the inhabitants who live by agriculture ; (3) The formation of electoral bodies, or Syndicates ; (4) The constitution of the elected body, or Chambers of Agriculture ; (5) Their action upon the public authorities. The Marquis is animated by a profound distrust of direct representation according to the usual parliamentary system, and, therefore, relies upon the system of syndicates as presenting all the advantages of

indirect representation. That the farmer or labourer should choose some one who will think and speak for him in choosing the man who is to be the protector of his interests and his spokesman to the powers that be, may appear to us an excess of anxiety to relieve the agricultural intelligence from any undue strain upon its powers, but the writer, if we interpret him aright, is chiefly in love with indirect representation on account of the admirable and valuable control which it furnishes over the person elected. The representative who owes his election directly to a multitude of individual voters has only to keep within the general lines of his promises and their mandate, and he is practically free upon the thousand and one important issues which may arise affecting the interests of his constituents. The latter form much too numerous and unwieldy a mass to sit assembled to watch him and keep him in the way he should go. Thence, too often some of the worst failures of the parliamentary system. A syndicate, on the contrary, is sufficiently capable of mobilisation to keep in the field with practical permanence, and not only to elect their representative, but to stand at his side and shape his course and action, and keep him well in hand and fully up to the standard of their requirements. The article elaborates the several points of the plan with much clearness and cogency, and rightly points out that there is no reason why such Agricultural Syndicates should not serve as a consultative body to the Government in all matters of proposed legislation affecting the farming interests, just as the Chambers of Commerce do in matters affecting trade.

The **Sociologie Catholique** reprints the eloquent conference addressed by the Rev. P. de Pascal to the students of the University of Montpellier upon Social Reform. After a keen criticism of Collectivism as presented by its chief exponent, Karl Marx, Père de Pascal traces the scheme of social reform as indicated by the Papal Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, and concludes by adopting the words of Henri Savatier :

Property ought to be organised for the welfare of the family, of the profession, of society. The right to do so has not been invented in the nineteenth century. It is not, as certain people suppose, the same thing with the liberty of Usury. We may wish to preserve property and to destroy capitalism.

Such utterances, as well as the great Encyclical upon which they are founded, go to show that there are elements in the social demands

of our time which the Church is too reasonable and pious a mother to meet with a *non possumus*. The Usurer, the Sweater, and the gambler in Stocks will find it a difficult work to shelter their ill-gotten gains behind the tomes of her moral theology.

J. M.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Ruins of Zimbabwe.—Mr. Bent, who has made the first systematic investigation of these remarkable remains, has published the result in an interesting work on “The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland.” (Longmans, 1892.) The principal group, which he calls the Great Zimbabwe, is but the most extensive of a chain of similar fortified positions, built, as he conclusively shows, by an alien race settled in the country and engaged in the exploitation of its mineral resources. The discovery of smelting furnaces and crucibles with specks of gold still adhering to their sides in the principal ruins themselves, as well as of ancient shafts honeycombing the adjoining auriferous region, with the traces in their neighbourhood of the other processes to which the gold was subjected, leaves little doubt as to their association with a great mining industry of the early world. The position of crushing stones in rows along the banks of the streams near the old mines suggests to Mr. Bent the probable inference that they were worked by gangs of slaves chained together in rows, as seen in the Egyptian sculptures. The Great Zimbabwe consists of two groups of buildings, the one, a temple on the plain, with manifold walls, altars, and two conical towers of very unequal size, all enclosed within a circular wall of massive construction; the other a fortress on a steep granite hill in a strongly defensible position, and now presenting a maze of winding passages, complicated approaches and confused masses of masonry, strewn over the hill top. The most striking feature of the great temple below is the ornamentation of its external wall with a double belt of stones disposed in a zigzag pattern, for exactly the space on its south-western side touched by the rays of the rising sun at the summer solstice. Traces of similar decoration were found in some of the minor ruins, while the great obelisks are conjectured to have served either as gnomons to measure the solar declination, or as transit instruments to observe the passage of the stars. The two pyramidal

towers point to Arab origin, as the early Arabians are stated to have worshipped a tower built by their patriarch, Ishmael, and a similar object, called Penuel, or the Face of God, adored by the Midianites, is recorded in Scripture to have been destroyed by Gideon. As Arabia, which produced no considerable supply of gold itself, was the great source of its distribution to the ancient world, it is highly probable, as Mr. Bent concludes, that some of it at least was drawn from this auriferous region of the Zambesi.

Natives of Mashonaland.—Mr. Bent's archæological researches brought him into contact with the Makalangas, as the inhabitants of Mashonaland are called, and he gives some interesting particulars of the habits and pursuits of these most recently added subjects of the British Empire. Their liability to raids from the great Zulu kingdoms of Gazaland and Matabeleland obliges them to perch their villages in impregnable positions on the summit of the granite kopjes, or isolated hills, that stud the veldt, the approaches to which are carried through natural tunnels and defiles additionally strengthened by fortifications. Their cattle are sheltered, too, in caves or rocky refuges, and they thus save part of their property from destruction when their huts and granaries on the plain are burned by the Zulu *impis*. Their warlike instincts find an outlet at other times in intertribal warfare, but they never attempt to combine against the common enemy. They are skilled in various industries, of which iron smelting is the chief, and some villages form South African Birminghams and Sheffields, devoted entirely to manufactures, and living by the barter of their tools, and arrow and assegai heads, for the produce of their agricultural neighbours. Bark is the basis of their textile fabrics, as it is made into twine which is knitted into bags or woven into aprons. The trees are stripped at certain seasons when family parties set out for a gipsy life in the forests, living on such small game as mice, lizards, and great hairy caterpillars, and sleeping at night in rude structures of branches. Their ordinary huts are of the beehive shape common in Africa, and their grain is stored in mushroom-like, umbrella-roofed structures of reeds and clay, while trees serve as larders, and are hung with packages, enfolded in grass, and looking like some abnormal fruit depending from the boughs. They hoe the ground neatly for their crops, consisting of millet, beans, sweet potatoes, ground nuts, and corn, as well as of such vegetables as tomatoes, chillies, and capers, some of them obviously of foreign origin. Brewing and pot-making, the latter a monopoly of some villages, are practised by the women. Beer,

sufficiently potent, but easily soured, is made from malted corn, and large pots for domestic use are shaped on a stand and given a black glaze with plumbago. Their contents in corn is the price usually paid for them.

A Journey across Tibet.—Captain Bower, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday, February 20, described his journey of exploration from Leh, whence he started on April 17, 1891. His party consisted of Dr. Thorold, a native sub-surveyor, a Pathan orderly, a Hindoostani cook, a Kashmiri, and six Arghoon caravan drivers. As regards population, he estimated that of Tibet proper—*i.e.*, the country under the rule of the Deva Zhung, at four millions, while Chinese Tibet, including the province of Amdo, together with Kham, really governed by native chiefs and owning merely a nominal allegiance to Lhasa, might be put down at a like figure. Of this aggregate of eight millions for the entire of Tibet, nearly half a million are probably monks. Inhabitants are thus very sparsely scattered over the vast area included under the name of Tibet. The whole of its north and centre, with great part of its western regions, are known as the Chang, and form a high tableland, with hills mostly rounded, but occasionally presenting the sharply defined outlines of snowy ranges. The mountains generally run east and west, but no defined watershed exists, and the drainage of the country consists of rivers flowing in all directions, and ending in salt lakes which appear to have at one time occupied a larger area than at present. An idea of the configuration and physical features of this region may be gathered from the fact that for five months the party never encamped at a lower altitude than 15,000 feet and throughout the enormous expanse of country covered by their marches during that period, never saw a single tree. Greater part of the Chang is uninhabitable for more than half the year, and many of the spots where summer grazing might be obtained are too far from possible winter quarters to be available for the purpose. Only round the edges of the plateau were a few nomads met with, living almost entirely on meat and dairy produce. Anything of the nature of flour was rarely to be had by the travellers, “asampa,” the only starch-food ever found in the tents, being scarce in quantity.

Habits of the Natives of South-eastern Tibet.—In this part of the country its aspect changed completely, deeply-cut valleys, steep well-wooded hills, and rivers eventually finding their way to

the sea being its principal characteristics. Here, the population, though a settled one, living in houses and raising crops, show little superiority in character over the nomads, since they are described as faithless, immoral, cowardly, and untruthful, servile to those they fear, and insolent to others. Their unreliability has often been shown in their desertion of the French missionaries, to whom they owe so much, on the occasion of any disturbance. Though less industrious and skilful than the Chinese, they are an active and lively people, whom the stranger is at first inclined to regard as light-hearted and simple, but finds on longer acquaintance to be simple only as compared with their neighbours in China. Their physical type is good, and they seem able to withstand all extremes of temperature. The dress of the common people consists generally of a long and very greasy sheepskin robe; this is hitched up by a waist-belt during the day, so that the upper part is very full while the lower hangs down like a kilt. When the belt is removed at night the garment falls to the feet of the wearer, thus serving the double purpose of clothing and bedding. In what they consider warm weather, the right arm is bare, being thrust out of the coat; in the front of the waist-belt, slung across the body, a straight sword is carried in a scabbard ornamented with turquoise and inlaid with silver. Their foot-gear consists of boots made of brightly striped cloth, covering the leg, and fastened by garters under the knee. Their love of ornaments and jewellery is very conspicuous, and the amount of the precious metals thus used up in the country must be considerable. Among the well-to-do, red woollen cloth and various coloured silks are in favour. As the Chinese intermarry with the inhabitants, there must be considerable intermixture of race, particularly on the main route to Lhasa, where some of the former are stationed at each of the rest-houses; but no trace of modification of the original type could be traced even in those pointed out as the children of such marriages, and the children seem to grow up thoroughly Tibetan. The fact that the Tibetans do not admit Chinese women into their country, is in itself sufficient to show how shadowy is the claim of China to sovereignty over it.

Climate and Natural History.—A fairly heavy rain and snow fall were observed, and during the short summer a very nutritious crop of short crisp grass springs up, as is frequently the case where the soil is covered with snow during great part of the year. Large herds of yak and Tibetan antelope are sustained by this pasturage,

though it is hard to imagine how they live through the winter months. Bird-life is poorly represented, and the only game birds that seem to breed there are the Tibetan sand-grouse and the bar-headed goose. A few butterflies were met with at an altitude of 17,600 feet, and it seemed marvellous that anything so fragile should be able to exist on the bleak, wind-swept plateaus. Of flowering plants, 115 species were collected, and of these one was found at an altitude of 19,000 feet, probably the greatest at which any flower has ever been known to bloom. These 115 species contain twenty-eight natural orders, an unusually large proportion to the number of species.

The Nile and the Mountains of the Moon.—Fresh light is thrown on the still vexed question of the sources of the Nile by Dr. Baumann's recent exploration of the country lying between the Kagera river and Lake Tanganyika. The strange belief of the inhabitants of Urundi in that region, that their royal race was descended from the moon, caused them to receive the European traveller with the greatest demonstrations of joy as their last king, dead for more than a generation, and supposed to have now returned from his celestial abode in the ancestral orb. A range of mountains in the neighbourhood is reverenced under the name of the Mountains of the Moon, and as the explorer traced to them the head waters of the Kagera, believed by many to be the most southerly feeder of the Victoria Nyanza, we have here a curious confirmation of classical tradition, long discredited as mythical.

The Situation in Uganda.—The following letter has been received by the British East Africa Company from Captain Williams, in Kampalla, Uganda, dated October 22, 1892 :

All is well in Uganda, Usoga, and Toru. It is my opinion, and I believe that of the missionaries of both parties, that the country is fast settling down, and that no serious disturbance is to be anticipated; trade is reviving, and everywhere the people are building, clearing the roads, making bridges over the swamps, and cultivating. There are, of course, occasional cases of friction between the various parties, some of which might become serious, but I have been able to award prompt punishment, and I think the people are beginning to see that I have both the will and the power to do substantial justice. I am doing all in my power to work through and with the king and the chiefs, so as to in some degree teach them to manage their own affairs.

At Kabba Rega's request I have sent a Waganda as the Company's agent to negotiate peace; I await his reply.

Mr. Grant, with a force of Soudanese, is in Busoga. A white man with an efficient force has long been wanted there to prevent these petty

chiefs from fighting amongst themselves, and to stop the wholesale robberies which used to go on by Waganda tax-gatherers, who took ten or twenty times what was really brought to Mwanga, who is quite rapacious enough. I have fixed the tribute at a reasonable and proper sum: half the ivory tribute, worth, say £400 per annum, goes to the Company. This, with a tax of 8 per cent. on all ivory bought here or in Kavirondo by traders, will help expenses, but it must be remembered that Usoga is a very small country. The ivory comes in from the north. It would pay well to put a trading station at Save, even if only temporarily; I have neither the goods nor the men for the work at present.

From Toru there is no particular news. I have ordered some reduction of the establishment of porters there. Ntali is friendly, and Mr. Reddie hopes to do some good ivory trade with Kavalli and Katunzi (on the Albert Lake) from Fort Wavertree (Fort No. 1).

I have here about 180 Soudanese, mostly from Equatorial provinces: they are doing remarkably well, are very well behaved, and are contented and happy. I have established a school for the non-commissioned officers and boys, and any others who like. I have sent a few more of the old Soudanese privates to the coast; one of the old costs as much as five of the new.

In conclusion of my report, I beg to say that I think the directors will find, if all goes well, and I see no reason to prevent it, that these countries may be made to nearly, if not quite, pay their way if the strictest economy, foresight, and care be taken in every department.

I have a very considerable amount of ivory waiting transport to the coast.—*The Times*, February 22, 1893.

Progress of the Corinth Canal.—A Foreign Office report from the British Consul in the Piræus describes the present position of the works on the Greek Isthmus. The project of the canal owed its inception to the success of the Suez Canal, inasmuch as General Türr, associated with M. de Lesseps in that enterprise, was encouraged to raise a company with a capital of thirty million francs for the conversion of the Morea into an island. The concession was obtained in 1881, and the works begun in March of the following year, but the lavish and apparently uncontrolled expenditure on them quickly absorbed the capital, and the *Comptoir d'Escompte* was obliged to come to the rescue to enable a further sum of fourteen million francs to be raised. With this assistance the works were languidly prosecuted, until July 1889, when they were brought to a standstill owing to the difficulties in which the *Comptoir d'Escompte* itself had become involved in the spring of that year. As two-thirds of the total excavation of eleven and a half million cubic metres had been then accomplished, a Greek company was formed to take over the old concession and complete the partially constructed canal, and a contract was signed, in June 1890, with the *Société Générale d'Enterprises*, who began work in the ensuing September, with the undertaking to complete the canal in March 1893 under forfeit of

100,000fr. per month for all subsequent delay. In consequence, however, of a cloud-burst near Isthmia in January 1892, such torrents of rain fell as to compel the suspension of operations for several weeks, and the contractors obtained an extension of time to May 1893, the present date for the completion of the works. Although the latter are in a very advanced state, since on November 1, 1892, only 380,000 cubic metres remained to be extracted, which at the previous rate of progress represents but three and a half months' work, the Consul does not think from the present aspect of the canal that the contractors' expectation of completion in the middle of April will be realised. From 2000 to 2500 men of diverse nationalities, marshalled in groups under gangers according to their several specialities, have been employed for many years on the construction, the Armenians being kept to shovel work, the Montenegrins to the pick, and the Italians to tunnelling and masonry. As surface drainage has been mainly considered in choosing the line of the canal, it does not cross the Isthmus either at its narrowest or lowest point. Its length will be about six kilometres, with a minimum depth of eight metres and a minimum width of twenty-one metres at the bottom, and 24·6 on the surface. When completed, it will have cost nearly £2,750,000, and it is doubtful whether it will ever repay this outlay.

Earthquakes in Zante.—The terrible series of earthquakes in Zante during January and February are a consequence of the volcanic nature of the soil, which gives the beautiful island its exceptional fertility, and justifies its Italian title of "The Flower of the Levant." The misfortunes of the islanders began with the partial failure of the currant crop, to which many other forms of culture have been sacrificed, and which, owing to the appearance of a sort of blight or mildew, was reduced to half its usual productiveness. Then followed a winter of unprecedented severity, which was at its height, with the *bora*, or north wind, blowing fiercely, and the snow lying on the plains as well as on the hills, when the earthquake came, to level the houses of the unfortunate peasantry, and drive them to such imperfect shelters as they could hastily construct out of planks, straw, and the twigs of the recently pruned currant bushes. The catastrophe was accompanied by violent thunderstorms, with drenching showers of hail and sleet, so that heaven and earth combined their destructive forces to add to the terrors of the scene. Both in town and country, the habitations of the poorer classes suffered most, for, while the solid construction of the larger houses enabled them to resist the shocks, the flimsy hovels of the inferior

quarters of the towns were reduced to heaps of ruins. Thus the principal streets of the capital show comparatively little indications of the havoc done, as the street frontage of the houses with its massive stone masonry masks the destruction behind, which reveals itself only on closer examination. The villages have suffered even more heavily than the town, and in that of Macherato, near the foot of the mountains, with a population of 200 families, only six houses are reported as fit for habitation. The same is the case in the neighbouring village of Buyato, and in both the homeless population are sheltered in rude temporary structures, quite inadequate to keep out the biting winds. Much assistance has been given by H.M.S. *Camperdown*, from which tents have been lent to some of the shelterless inhabitants. The total damage is estimated at over £600,000, a heavy loss, since it falls mainly on the poor. The destruction of life was small in proportion, amounting only to six killed and about 200 injured.

Proposed English Polar Expedition.—England, since Sir George Nares' Expedition, has left Polar exploration mainly to the enterprise of other nations, and the navigation of the North-east passage has been achieved by Sweden, while Norway is now sending Dr. Nansen to seek the Pole by utilising the ocean currents, and America has entrusted to Lieutenant Peary the conduct of an expedition thither by way of Greenland. An Englishman has now, however, entered the field with a rival project, since Mr. Frederick Jackson, a member of the Royal Geographical Society, has announced his purpose of conducting a party next year by way of Franz Josef Land, the most northerly land as yet reached in the Eastern hemisphere. It may be remembered that even from this outpost of the universe a range of peaks was discerned still further poleward, and these hyperborean Alps would form perhaps a winter station for the English adventurers. Mr. Jackson regards the hopelessness of the attempt to reach the Pole from the American side, by Smith's Sound, or any other northern outlet of Baffin's Bay, as proved by Sir George Nares' examination of them, and, adopting the generally accepted axiom that the most feasible plan is to start by land north of 80° N. lat., he sees in Franz Josef Land the most promising base for future expeditions. He therefore proposes to leave during the coming summer for its southern shore, and hopes to arrive in time to push northwards to a winter station, more northerly, perhaps, than the Austrian limit. By a further advance during the ensuing year (1894) he would establish a dépôt of stores somewhere about 84° or

85°, and thence progress before the winter to still higher latitudes. Should he find land, he would establish another dépôt, and, wintering within 200 miles of the Pole, would have the whole of the following summer (1895) in which to reach this ultimate goal. The absence of land north of the 84th parallel would delay the advance, and doubtless frustrate the hopes of the party. But for anything known to the contrary, Franz Josef Land or some of its outlying dependencies may reach to the Pole itself, in which case a summer of fair weather might, according to the sanguine view of the intending explorer, prove sufficient. The party is to consist of only ten men, and must necessarily from the above programme be absent several years. Sir George Nares, despairing of the western route through the Polar Seas, recommended Franz Josef Land, which has the advantages of plenty of animal life and open water, as the best base for future exploration.—*The Tablet*, February 18.

The Future Inter-Oceanic Canal.—The forecast of the American engineers who condemned the project of the Panama Canal from its inception has been amply justified by events. The journals of the United States may have been actuated by national jealousy, but at least their most pessimistic prophecies that it would end in total failure after large amounts of capital had been sunk in it have been fully verified by the result. The attention of speculators in that country had, however, been turned to the project of an inter-oceanic canal long before it was adopted by M. de Lesseps, and numerous surveys of the Isthmus have been made, both at the cost of private individuals and of the nation. In 1850, two were made: one of the Nicaragua route, and another of that from the Bay of Campeachy to the Gulf of Tetuantepec, across the narrowest part of Mexico. General Grant subsequently despatched a monster expedition, which reported on nine alternative routes, giving estimates of the expense of construction for each. The shortest was that of San Blas, about 54 miles east of Panama, where the distance from ocean to ocean is but 33 miles, but here the intervening mountains would have required to be tunnelled through for four miles, and the estimate of the level canal without locks by this route was £56,000,000. The Nicaragua route, on the other hand, though the longest of all, has counterbalancing advantages which reduce the estimated cost to £36,000,000. Thus the line of 183 miles, from Greytown (San Juan de Nicaragua) on the Atlantic, to Realejo on the Pacific, traverses for 53 miles the Lake of Nicaragua, while that of Maguaga and the waters of the river San Juan can also be utilised. The

canal will be carried by seventeen locks over the Cordillera, and no special engineering difficulties are anticipated on this route. The climate, however, is very bad, at least on the Atlantic coast, and this is a consideration likely to weigh with passengers, as the transit through the canal will occupy not less than four days. Its principal benefits will be conferred on the people of the United States, as the voyage of steamers trading from New York to San Francisco will be shortened by 6000 miles, while the lesser saving of 1500 miles in the route from Europe to China and Japan will be counterbalanced by difficulty of coaling and loss of trade at intermediate ports. The construction of the canal is in actual progress, having been commenced in October 1890.

Gold Mines of Queensland.—The special correspondent of the *Times* of January 12 describes the division of Queensland into two geographically distinct regions by the great Coast Range, which in some places, as at Cairns, approaches within a few miles of the sea, and at others recedes so far from it as to enclose a considerable tract of littoral plain. This chain represents, according to geologists, a fringe of islands, once the boundary of an inland sea, covering the rolling plains which now form the rich pastoral districts of the interior. The mountains and their seaward slope contain, on the other hand, the agricultural and metalliferous zones, the latter producing, in addition to gold, silver, lead, tin, antimony, and copper. Four out of the six principal goldfields in Australia are found in Queensland, and one of these, Charters Towers, headed the list of production for the whole continent last year, while another, that of Rockhampton, contains the famous Mount Morgan, the largest auriferous block in the world. This wonderful deposit, which occurs on a patch of sandstone, is now supposed to have been created by the action of an enormous geyser which brought up chloride of gold with other materials, forming a cone some 700 feet high. At first believed to be a mountain of ironstone, it changed hands for £640, and has already paid three millions sterling in dividends, though many people have ruined themselves by gambling in its shares. It is reached by a drive of twenty-six miles from Rockhampton, and catches the eye among the grassy undulations around it, from its fantastic colouring, and the little white mining village by the stream at its foot.

The minerals in it which carry gold are [says the writer] of the most different descriptions. There is red hematite, which sets everything a-flame with crimson tints fading down to palish pink. There are masses of white silicious sinter, as friable as chalk, and so light that it looks

more like froth than stone. There is iron pyrites, of which the beautiful colours have earned for it the name of peacock ore, and there are bright bands of yellow ochre. It has been often spoken of as a mountain of gold. It is really a mountain of which the core is seamed and traversed and permeated with gold. At the top the core becomes practically the whole mountain; there is nothing to be done with it but to take it all to the mill, and the open workings, which are carried on in successive steps or benches, throwing all its colours into contrast with the trees and greenery that still crown the ledges, have the effect of rough battlements against the sky. Men employed upon them blast and break away the ore, and send it down by means of an aerial tram, which connects the mine with the crushing works at the other side of the valley. Skips are perpetually going and returning along the stretched wire, which at a little distance becomes invisible, and the first suggestion is of some occult process of enchantment by which the heavy loads are induced to sail, in defiance of gravity, through the air. The lower slopes are covered still in parts with grass and trees.

The lower depths are reached by tunnels at different levels, through which the whole golden heart of the hill is being gradually scooped out. The gold is in some places borne in rock so light as to float in water, and is then so finely divided as to form a film on the surface instead of sinking to the bottom. By the ordinary method of washing, consequently, a large proportion was lost, and it is now treated by a dry process, saving 98 per cent. of the estimated yield. The entire output of gold is about 10,000 ounces a month, a tenth of that of Johannesburg, and £8000 a month are spent in wages between 1200 men and boys.

At the more extensive goldfield of Charters Towers, a town of 20,000 inhabitants has sprung up, and here 20,000 ounces a month are produced from 113 mines on two or three miles of reef, the ore of which yields an average of 1 oz. 4 dwt. to the ton, while some workings give as much as 6 oz. When it is remembered that the average through the Witwatersrand district is but 12 dwt., and the whole production of Johannesburg from forty miles of reef is but 103,000 ounces a month, the significance of these figures may be estimated. The less productive goldfields of South Queensland produced last year a total of 75,000 oz. as compared with 160,000 oz. for Central Queensland, including Mount Morgan. It is, however, in the northern division of the colony that the mass of the gold deposits is contained, and here 350,000 oz. were produced during the year, while fresh centres are continually being opened up. The latest rush was to the Batavia River, and it is the belief of experts that the gold belt encircling the colony has as yet been indicated rather than explored.

Gold Production in the Transvaal. — The *Times* of January 17 prints a report from Mr. Hamilton Smith, an American

mining engineer, on the present and future of the Witwatersrand goldfields, whose production is, according to his estimate of the district examined by him, unprecedented in mining history. The collapse of the first speculations after the original discovery in 1886 was due to the mistaken idea that the metal would be found, as in America and Australia, in alluvial deposits requiring only digging and washing for their treatment. The formation in the Transvaal consists, on the contrary, of a deposit of sandstone, transformed by heat and pressure into quartzite, traversed by roughly parallel beds of conglomerate varying from a few inches to twenty feet thick. This latter formation is the matrix of the gold, which exists in it probably to a gross amount of many million ounces, though all may not be so situated as to pay the cost of extraction. The entire basin extends for a distance of about fifty miles from east to west, filling a trough which Mr. Smith believes to have a vertical depth of 15,000 feet. The eleven miles of workings personally examined by him have yielded to the companies engaged on them a total value of £6,700,000, the average production being $12\frac{1}{2}$ dwt. to the ton. Although single mines of limited extent, like Mount Morgan, have been richer in production, no such yield has ever been given over so great a length of reef. Nor does he think that gold mining in the Transvaal will be, as in other El Dorados, of diminishing productiveness, for nature has not here already sifted the metal from the rock by water power, to be then deposited in holes or pockets. The continuous veins in the Witwatersrand reefs show no diminution at the depths of 400 to 600 feet already reached, and the more sanguine spirits in Johannesburg believe that they rather improve in productiveness with increasing depth. Mr. Smith calculates that the main reef, with a length 50,000 feet, a width of 5 feet, and an inclined depth of some 5000 feet, will yield a total of £215,000,000, to which another 100 million may probably be added from outlying mines not yet thoroughly developed. And as the demand for gold is practically unlimited, there is here no danger of over-production as in the case of other minerals. Those who attribute commercial depression to scarcity of gold may thus comfort themselves with the prospect of an almost unlimited supply during the next thirty or forty years.

Disastrous Floods in Queensland.—An inundation, unparalleled in the history of Australia, submerged the country round Brisbane in the early part of February 1893. The principal streets of the capital itself were flooded to a depth of thirty feet, while in the suburbs the water rose to nearly twice that height. Several factories

and over 500 houses were swept away, and 100 homeless families were obliged to take refuge in boats. The Governor found the greatest difficulty in reaching the city, which was, in fact, completely isolated by the inundation, all the towns for a considerable distance round it being under water. In some districts the inhabitants had to fly to the bare hills, and the greatest distress prevailed from the widespread destruction of houses and property, amounting in the aggregate to some three millions sterling, while food went up to famine prices.

Exploration in Masailand.—The *Times* of January 18 publishes a report from Commander Dundas, R.N., showing the desirability, from a humanitarian point of view, of the construction of the East African Railway. Having arrived at the extreme navigable point of the River Tana, 350 miles from its mouth, he left the stern-wheel steamer in which he had navigated it, and struck westward with a caravan through an unexplored region to Mount Kenia. After passing through a beautiful region of hills and cultivated valleys inhabited by an industrious population who evinced a very friendly feeling towards Europeans, he reached the district of Kikuyu, where he found the people in a state of great alarm from a raid of the dreaded Masai. Large volumes of smoke towards the north-west showed the route taken by the marauders, who had burned the villages after driving off the women and cattle. Captain Dundas came in sight of the column on topping the crest of a range a little further on, as they marched in a serpentine formation through the valley below, to the number of 800 warriors with broad spears glistening in the sun. The expedition being too weak to defend itself, deployed in skirmishing order so as to disguise its paucity of numbers, and the Masai passed on, after a halt to reconnoitre the strangers. Captain Dundas, on his return a week later, came upon the harrowing scenes of desolation they had left behind, smoking ruins, devastated fields, the bodies of the slain, and a few helpless survivors, the picture of the apathy of despair. The Masai had arrived at break of day, spearing all the men, destroying what they could not carry, and capturing some 250 women and large herds of cattle. One old chief implored Captain Dundas to "make medicine" to prevent the Masai returning, asking if the "Mzungus" (Europeans) would come to live with them to protect them from further attacks.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF AACHEN.

Katholik.—The December issue contains two articles on Dr. Krogh-Tonning, one of the chief theologians of Christiania. His learned writings on dogmatic theology are criticised, due attention being given to his recent publications on ecclesiastical history and the necessity of a visible Church, defining with absolute certainty controversies of doctrine which may arise in the course of time. We may note that it is to the excellent conferences held in Christiania in 1889 by P. Scheer, of the Friars Preachers, before a congregation made up for the most part of wealthy Protestants, that we are indebted for Dr. Krogh-Tonning's considerations on the indefectibility and infallibility of the Church. It is needless to point out that an ideal church such as here asked for could never be realised in any of the various Protestant denominations. In the same issue the present writer contributed an account of Professor Dittrich's "Nuntiaturberichte Giovanni Morone's vom deutschen Königshofe, 1539—1540." Catholic scholars in England will find in this noble collection of documents gathered from the secret archives of the Vatican, and furnished with extensive critical and historical notes, no small amount of information bearing on Henry VIII. and his ecclesiastical policy. When the king published the famous six articles, intended to deceive the people about his projected separation from Rome, the Duke of Saxe and the Duke of Fülich, according to a letter of Nuncio Morone to Cardinal Farnese, October 9, 1539, held these proceedings of the English monarch to be a solemn apostasy from his principles. They despatched several embassies and conceived the plan of marrying Anne of Cleves, the Duke of Fülich's sister, to King Henry—the fourth on his list of wives. As Anne had lived for many years under Catholic influences, the Nuncio Morone deemed it to be his duty to urge the Cardinal Secretary to take steps to win her for the Catholic faith. There are also in the collection documents proving that the Duke of Bavaria in 1539 wished to wedded to the Princess Mary. He despatched an agent, named Bonacorsio, to London to conclude the marriage articles. The negotiations, however, fell through. The January issue gives the first of a series of articles on Dom Maurus Wolter, the famous Abbot of

the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron. Wolter was one of the greatest scholars of the University of Bonn, and possessed a profound knowledge of theology, philosophy, and philology. He was ordained priest in Cologne in 1850, became head-master of the school attached to the Collegiate Chapter in Aachen, joined the Benedictines in Rome, and in the course of time, assisted by the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern, erected in 1862 the Abbey of Beuron. Here he suddenly died, July 9, 1889. Through this great foundation he became a zealous promoter of Gregorian music, the strict observance of the ritual, and of Christian art. Five bulky volumes, "*Psallite sapienter*; or, *Explanation of the Psalms according to the Liturgy of the Church*" (Freiburg: Herder), are likely to hand down his name to posterity, and to prove to devout souls of many generations to come a safe guide in the way of prayer and perfection. We cannot but wish that this important work, gathered as it is from the purest sources of the Catholic Church, may find its way into many a religious community. To Dr. Höhler, Canon of Limburg, we are indebted for several thoughtful articles on the "Dogmatic Test of Ecclesiastical History." Ascertained facts are not to be revised by the Church. But the results of human investigations have turned out in so many cases to be faulty and liable to error that were the Church to resign her right to apply to them the test of Catholic truth, she would practically abdicate her magisterium. In the February issue appeared a laudatory notice on Professor von Hertling's (University of Munich) recent work on "John Locke and the School of Cambridge." In his famous "Essay on the Human Understanding" there are distinguishable two conflicting currents of thought: empiricism and intellectualism appear to be blended together. Indeed, Locke's system is mainly founded on Empiricism. In discussing the question of the origin of his Intellectualism, Professor von Hertling traces it to the Platonic school of Cambridge.

Historisch-politische Blätter. — In the January number, Cremation is considered in the light of Catholic principles. There is also a biographical notice of King Louis II. of Bavaria, by Karl von Heigel. From it we gather accurate information on the principles adopted by the King's father, Max II., in the direction of the young prince's education. Then we note the indisputable fact that King Louis II., notwithstanding the rumours spread about his inclination to Old Catholicism, had ever been sincerely attached to the Catholic Church. Other notices relate to Fr. Charles van Duerm's "Vicissitudes politiques du pouvoir temporel des Papes

de 1790 jusqu' à nos jours" (Lille : Société de S. Augustin). English Catholics will be interested in the "Bullarium Trajectense." This work, which is the fruit of much painstaking labour, is a collection, derived from the Vatican Archives, of the Papal Bulls relating to the diocese of Utrecht, from its first beginning to A.D. 1378. The author, Dr. Gisbert Brom, priest of the diocese of Utrecht, has left nothing undone to perform his task and to produce a work which, for acumen and wide knowledge in the department of ecclesiastical history, is fully up to the level of modern requirements. In another number, the "Life of Fr. Perry," by F. Cortie, in its German translation, receives due recognition. Next we may mention two articles on Fr. Baumgartner's, S.J., biography of "Gallus Jacob Baumgartner." This valuable book, for the most part based on manuscript materials, traces the life and labours of the above-named patriot and statesman. English readers will gather from it not a few details illustrating the baneful influence brought to bear on Switzerland by Lord Palmerston.

Those who may be interested in obtaining an insight into the fierce contest which is being waged in the Protestant Church in Prussia about the "Apostolicum," or Apostles' Creed, will find, in the February issue, a remarkable article, replete with accurate information.

Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.—In the January number Fr. Granderath contributes a learned article on "The Old Proofs for the Existence of God and Modern Science." The sad fact that those time-honoured proofs have lost their weight with so many minds in our own day is not to be ascribed to any assured results of modern investigation in natural science, but only to the disastrous dearth of philosophical training and the one-sided stress laid on the value of positive science. F. Krenten continues his pleasing articles on Pascal, while F. Pfülf follows up his contributions on Mirabeau. To F. Beissel, who has recently visited Italy, we owe a series of articles on the works on painting preserved in Monte Cassino and in St. Mark in Florence.

Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).—Fr. Stentrup treats the subject of "The State and Atheism." Atheism, he holds, strikes at the very root of society, and therefore deserves to be met not only by the weapons of light, but by those of public law. Fr. Müllendorff deals with the "Merit gained by Good works.

and their Supernatural Motive." "St. Cyprian and his Position on Heretical Baptism" is the subject of an article by Dr. Ernst. It has been recently maintained that the saint considered the question as pertaining merely to external discipline and not to faith. The article has for its objects to show the untenability of this opinion.

FRANCE.

L'Université Catholique. Année 1892. Janvier—Décembre.

Nouvelle Série. Lyon: Facultés Catholiques.

We regret that we have not been able to give more frequent notices of this excellent periodical. We cannot speak too highly of its scholarship and literary attractiveness. There is not a dry number during the whole course of the past year. Articles on biographical, scriptural, historical, philosophical, literary subjects are presented in a judicious mixture, and they are always marked by high qualities. We may point out as particularly interesting, an article in the January number on "Bossuet et la Bible," by Théodore Delmont. The great Bishop of Meaux is depicted to us as "l'homme de la Bible." His greatest enthusiasm was devoted to this book. On that he formed not only his large spirit of piety, but his philosophy, his eloquence, his theology, and all that went to make up his mental and moral greatness. In the July number we have a remarkable paper on "l'Esprit Moderne," by Joseph Serre. It is original and bold, and maintains that the modern spirit is characterised by a *largeness* which will bring about great results in favour of religion. In the October number is an article by Ch. Denis on "M. Frayssinous et l'Apologétique Spiritualiste." It abounds in praise of Mgr. Frayssinous' method, and exalts it as the very best for our own times.

SPAIN.

BY REV. JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

La Ciudad de Dios.—The January number of *La Ciudad de Dios* opens with an energetic protest against the insult offered to the whole of Catholic Spain by the establishment of a Protestant conventicle in the great capital of the kingdom. This act of injustice, without precedent in the history of the country, has wounded the nation in its most sensitive part, has already excited no little dis-

turbance, and, without any necessity, broken the completeness of religious unity till now peacefully enjoyed. "Confiding in the righteousness of our claims," concludes the *Review*, "we trust that the voice of seventeen millions of Spanish Catholics may prevail, and that such an outrage will not be permitted to endure."

P. Honorato del Val defends the Catholic teaching concerning the origin of the Pentateuch against rationalistic criticism. He shows that tradition, which attributes the authorship to Moses, is sustained by the unbroken testimony of past centuries: a tradition, indeed, so universal and so clear and strong that it is impossible in the whole course of bygone history to point to any period in which it has been challenged or denied. The learned author considers some of the commonest objections raised by the school of the so-called "higher criticism," and shows, that so far from invalidating the claims of Moses, they rather serve to support them: *lo que parece objeción se convierte en prueba irrefragable*. He is not satisfied, however, with answering objections. He furthermore produces positive proofs, founded on the character of these sacred books, and even on the style, the narratives, and on the allusions to current events which they contain, that Moses must have been their author. The dissertation, which extends over several numbers of the *Review*, will repay a careful study.

"El Problema de la Muerte," by P. T. Rodríguez, is perhaps the most interesting essay in the February issue. "The problem of a future life" would have been a more accurate title, for the subject discussed is rather what follows after death than death itself. Padre Rodríguez shows with considerable force that, in all ages and in all places, man has never considered death as anything but a passage to another state of existence. He answers the objection, that individuals at least have sometimes professed to hold that death ends all, by quoting the words of Cicero—viz., that there is no statement so absurd and inconceivable that *some* philosopher will not undertake to defend. The care with which even savages buried their dead, both now and in remote periods, the funeral rites employed, and the custom of laying food and arms, and sometimes clothing and money, beside the corpse, all serve to indicate the idea of another form of existence. Our author also points out passages both from the Old and the New Testament in refutation of the assertion made by M. Bourdeau, that in no part of the Bible is any express mention made of the spiritual nature of the soul, and that the idea of immortality was utterly unknown to the inspired writers. Thus, for example, when in the Book of Wisdom we read, "Wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins" (i. 5),

we at once recognise that a pointed distinction is drawn between the spiritual soul and the material body, while immortality is actually asserted in verse 3 of chap. xv., "To know Thy justice and Thy power is the root of immortality." So, too, when Jacob speaks of the present life as a pilgrimage (Gen. xlvi. 9), and of death as a sleep (Gen. xxx.), and when he expresses a hope to be re-united with his son Joseph after death (Gen. xxxvii. 35), he evidently refers to a state of existence beyond the grave.

Padre T. Rodríguez writes an interesting dissertation on the Existence of God, in refutation of the growing errors of atheism. His whole argument is in reality but a development of the argument of St. Thomas, in which he establishes the necessity of a PRIMUM MOVENS, NON MOTUM. The existence of contingent beings demands the existence of an absolute Being, independent and self-existing. The temporal and mutable suppose an Eternal and an Immutable; and the finite in all its endless forms and varieties peremptorily demands an Infinite, which must be at the same time Intelligent and Personal—*i.e.*, God.

El Padre R. del Valle Ruíz writes a criticism on M. E. Renan and his famous (or infamous) "Vie de Jésus," in which he paints this strange and unhappy man in his true colours. It is interesting to contrast the account given by Mr. Lilly in "The Great Enigma," with the account before us. Of the book, which has done more than any other to render this unfortunate apostate notorious, Padre Ruíz and Mr. Lilly form very different estimates. While Mr. Lilly tells us that "he takes captive his readers by the breadth of his erudition and the abundance of his ideas, and by the magic of his style," Padre Ruíz writes that "it is not as a work of art, but as the banner of a Sect, that "La Vida de Jesús" has gathered around Renan such a crowd of admirers and followers, who weary not of applauding him and venerating him as a genius. Even," continues the learned Spaniard, "considered merely as an effort of pure imagination and the exclusive fruit of an exuberant fancy, it offers us no proofs that Renan was an artist of high attainments or of unusual inspiration."

ITALY.

Civiltà Cattolica—The *Civiltà* contains some important articles that have lately enlivened the hours of statesmen at home and abroad. We refer to Fr. Brandi's articles on "The Policy of Leo XIII. and the Contemporary Review." Fr. Brandi had no sooner finished with the

Contemporary Review than another pamphlet of 72 pages by Henry Geffcken of the Privy Council at Berlin, entitled "Léon XIII. devant d'Allemagne," appears and serves up once more not only the ideas of the *Contemporary* but what is still stranger the very same language. It used to be a matter for consideration for classical scholars whether the Laocoön group in the Vatican sprang from Virgil's immortal description or whether the poet drew his inspiration from the sculptor. We have no ambition to settle the question. Whether the writer in the *Contemporary* borrowed from Herr Geffcken or Herr Geffcken from the *Contemporary Review* we do not know, but when two writers [are they two?] run together here and there for five, ten, and fifteen lines using the very same language, we are at a loss to know how they do not make recognition of each other somewhere. Both make the same charges, so we can give our readers a correct idea of both within narrow limits. The general charge is that the keynote of Papal Policy is the restoration of the Temporal Power. Whatever else he does *that* is steadily in the Pope's mind. It is, we admit, somewhat ticklish to be able to infer motives which are always to give facts a certain complexion. It is always safest to say when a man does a certain thing that his motive was to do that thing, but we suppose as language is to conceal your thoughts, acts are good to conceal your intentions. The general charge of making favour with governments at the expense of Catholic freedom with the Temporal Power as a motive is urged by manifold considerations. There are Ireland, England, and Rome—a triangular duel. Ireland claiming liberty: England refusing it—in comes Rome and sides with strong England against weak Ireland, condemns the Parnell tribute and condemns boycotting, and creates general embarrassment for Ireland, and all because the Pope would interfere in temporal affairs with the view of getting back the Temporal Power. Then again, you have the German Government, the Centre under Windthorst, and Rome 1877. The Septennate is before the Reichstag. The Government want it; the Centre refuse it; in comes Rome, and carries the measure in favour of the strong Government, smacks the weak Centre, and sacrifices Catholics and their programme, and all because the Pope has his eye on the Temporal Power. On the other side of the Rhine you have Republican France—Monarchical Catholics and the Pope, who takes particular pains to side with the Republic, to crush the Catholic Royalists and thus sacrifice a Catholic party who obey him to their enemies, because forsooth France may some day recognise the Papal act and do a good turn for the Temporal Power. Once more you have Russia and Poland and Rome. Russia always exultant and wielding the knout—Poland always suffering in her

religion, in her national sentiment, and above all by the complaisance of Rome, which can always sacrifice her children to the old barbarian of the North. Then Austria has her troubles about the appointment of Bishops, vernacular languages in the Church Liturgies mixed marriages, &c., and Rome is always wrong. These are the backbone of the *Contemporary Review* articles and of Herr Geffcken's pamphlet, and with these various phases of Papal Diplomacy the *Civiltà* deals at considerable length.

Leo XIII. and Italy (Jan. 21, 1893) vindicates the Papal attitude towards Italy, while *Jewish Morality* (Jan. 21) and *Jewish Morality and the Mystery of Blood* (Feb. 4) will recall recent events in Austria.

Notices of Books.

Œuvres de Saint François de Sales. Edition Complète.

Tome 2: "Défense de l'Estendart de la Sainte Croix." Annecy : Monastère de la Visitation. 1892.

THE great work of a complete edition of St. Francis de Sales, so well begun by Dom Benedict Mackey and the Sisters of the Visitation of Annecy, goes on with vigour and celerity. We noticed in October of last year the first volume, and now we have before us the second. A third is stated to be in the press. This is good progress, when we take into consideration the enormous amount of labour which is entailed by the production of a critical and definitive edition of a classic; the settling of the text, the verification of quotations, the prefatory matter, and the mere copying and printing. There is little doubt, however, that the enterprise will now advance more rapidly, for the general principles of the editing are by this time clearly understood, and moreover the two works which are perhaps the most troublesome of all have been successfully undertaken. The "Defence of the Standard of the Holy Cross," which is now under notice, belongs to the same period of the Saint's activity as the "Controverses" which has been noticed on a former occasion. Both works sprung from the needs of the holy doctor's apostolate in the Chablais. The heretics had shown themselves particularly hostile to the Cross, and had systematically destroyed as many as possible of the open-air "Crosses" scattered over the country

—just as was done in England about the same period. In September 1597, when the labours of St. Francis were already beginning to bear fruit, he held that remarkable “Forty hours” at Annemasse of which we read in his Life. This was followed up by the solemn erection, or restoration, of a great Cross on the road between that town and Geneva. St. Francis brought over from Annecy a considerable number of his Confraternity of Penitents of the Holy Cross, in order to make the occasion more marked; and he had “placards” distributed to the crowds who attended, explaining the “worship” or *cultus* of this symbol of our redemption. A minister of Geneva, Antoine de la Faye, thereupon wrote a treatise, in which he attacked the Catholic practice by every argument in his power. It was in reply to this Calvinistic pamphlet that the “Standard of the Cross” was written.

Those who have read the excellent essays on St. Francis of Sales published a few years ago by Dom Mackey himself, do not need to be told that this treatise is solid in argument, learned in citation, and written in the well-known bright and original style of St. Francis of Sales. The work is especially marked by a very full and complete *catena* of passages from the Fathers and from early Church History. The difficult question of “Adoration” is treated in a way that will never be superseded.

The present edition is a reproduction of the *editio princeps* of Lyons (1600). It has the distinction of being the first work ever printed by St. Francis de Sales. The editors have found a valuable MS. of the work among the treasures of the Visitation at Annecy—apparently a first draft of what was afterwards recopied with amendments for the press. The varying readings of the MS. have been given throughout, and they throw much light on the Saint’s thought and his method of working, and therefore upon the character of one whose personality is inexhaustible in points of interest, both religious and literary.

The Kelt or Gael. His Ethnography, Geography, and Philology.

By T. DE COURCY ATKINS, B.A., London, Barrister-at-Law.
8vo, pp. 96. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1892.

IF the present century has been remarkable for the rise of hosts of new theories in every department of learning, its close seems to be characterised by a wholesale revival of old ones. The book before us at once reminds us of the works of the pre-scientific writers on Celtic philology and linguistics. Not that Mr. Atkins’ treatment of his subject betrays the hand of an ignoramus. So far from that,

his methods evince a desire to get ahead of the very latest theories in this branch of study; but, in his eagerness to come to the front as an original thinker, he falls into one of the worst errors of the would-be philologists of a hundred years ago. Mr. Atkins has, as he expresses it, "been through the vocabularies" of a great number of languages, and has been struck (like many another student) with the large proportion of roots which any two Aryan tongues possess in common. The lists which he prints show in a striking manner the verbal affinities between Irish and Latin, Welsh and Greek. On the slenderest grounds, our author then rushes to the conclusion that Latin and Greek are Celtic dialects. Just in the same way, in the good old days, men detected a few closely-related words in Welsh and the Semitic tongues, fancied they detected many more, and hastened to declare that Welsh was "derived from Hebrew." For all this, Mr. Atkins' book is interesting reading, and, in some few respects, is even valuable—as, for instance, when he calls attention to the large Celtic element infused into our English speech. Few, even of scholars, are aware of the considerable proportion of English words which are of undoubted Celtic origin, especially in our western dialects. This book gives evidence of so much vigorous thought and originality of conception, that we are sorry its author lost sight of the all-important fact that it is identity of grammatical construction—not merely community of word-roots—which indicates that any two languages are members of the same family.

J. H. M.

Sicily: Phœnician, Greek, and Roman. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. (Story of the Nations Series.) 8vo, pp. 387, map. London : Fisher Unwin.

"THE claim of the history of Sicily to a place in the Story of the Nations is not that there has ever been a Sicilian nation. There has very seldom been a time when there was a power ruling over all Sicily and over nothing out of Sicily. There has never been a time when there was one language spoken by all men in Sicily and by no men out of Sicily. All the powers, all the nations, that have dwelt round the Mediterranean Sea have had part in Sicilian history. All the languages that have been spoken round the Mediterranean Sea have been, at one time or another, spoken in Sicily. The historical importance of Sicily comes not from its being the seat of any one nation, but from its being the meeting-place and the battle-field of many nations. Many of the chief nations of the world have settled in Sicily and have held dominion in Sicily. They have

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wrought on Sicilian soil, not only the history of Sicily, but a great part of their own history. And, above all, Sicily has been the meeting-place and battle-field, not only of rival nations and languages, but of rival religious creeds."

Thus, in characteristic phrase, wrote the late Professor Freeman on the first page of his last work. The strange history thus described had for many years a special attraction for him, and after agreeing to contribute to the Story of the Nations Series a short history of the Norman power in Sicily, he enlarged his plan and determined to write the story of its early centuries, so as to make the later history more intelligible to the student. Hence the plan of an outline history of the island from the dawn of Greek colonisation to the days of Frederick II. On his favourite principle that "in order to write a small history you must first write a large one," he elaborated the three volumes of Sicilian History in Classic times, published by the Clarendon Press. This great work he left unfinished at his death, but he had completed the shorter history, coming down to the close of the Roman power in Sicily, while the larger work came no further than the tyranny of Dionysios.

This volume thus represents the latest work of the departed historian. It is one of the most remarkable in the series to which it belongs. In page after page one recognises the touch of a master's hand, and new light is thrown upon the history of the ancient world by thus, as it were, focussing the interest upon one narrow territory, the meeting place in the struggles of so many peoples. Freeman's own peculiar views colour his brief reference to the early Christian history of Sicily in the last chapter. The volume is more sparingly illustrated than most others of the series, but the reproductions of some of the earlier coins of Sicily makes one realise that if in other ways we have progressed our medallists have gone backwards since those far-off times.

De Censuris "Latæ Sententiae." Juxta hodiernam Ecclesiæ disciplinam brevis expositio et explanatio. Auctore SAC. EDUARDO GONELLA. Augustæ Taurinorum: Marietti. 1893. 8vo, pp. 201.

FOR those that desire a fuller insight into the provisions of the Constitution "Apostolicae Sedis" than can be gained from the notes which Ballerini and Cretoni have added to the "Moral Theology" of Gury, commentaries on the Constitution have been published by Avanzini, d'Annibale, Conrado, and others. Father Gonella now provides us with a fresh commentary. His treatise is

short, but it is full of useful matter and everything irrelevant is scrupulously included. Whereas other commentaries, as, for instance, that of Conrado, contain a treatise on Censures, Father Gonella rigorously restricts himself to a commentary on the clauses of the Constitution. His treatise is clear in style, methodical in arrangement, and a just sense of proportion is displayed in the varying lengths of the comments according to the greater or less importance of the several clauses.

Agnosticism, New-Theology, and Old-Theology, on the Natural and the Supernatural. By Rev. Jos. SELINGER, D.D., Prof. of Dogmatic Theology at St. Francis' Seminary. Milwaukee: Hoffmann Brothers Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. 79.

THE purpose of this treatise is to establish the existence of the Supernatural and man's supernatural relation to it. Reason proves the existence of the Supernatural, for it proves the existence of a Primal cause Who infinitely transcends nature. Reason also discovers that the destiny of man is, in some way, in union with the Supernatural, for the Primal cause, in producing things, must have constituted Himself their end, otherwise He would have subordinated His action, which is Himself, to the finite, and thus would have sought His own end in His effects, and to suppose this is to suppose not only what is unworthy of Him, but also to suppose what is impossible. But God has vouchsafed to constitute for man a destiny such as reason could never indicate and nature could never claim. Man's end is to be, not a natural union of mind and will with God, but a supernatural union by grace and glory. Since reason can tell us nothing of this supernatural relation of man to his end, God Himself, as the Vatican Council has decreed, has supplied the deficiency by Revelation. But the tendency of the present day is to put the doctrine of the supernatural out of court. At the Eighteenth Assembly of German Protestants, held at Gotha, in October 1889, Dr. Otto Dryer persuaded the meeting to reject Dogmatic Christianity and to adopt "Undogmatic Christianity." The reasons which Dryer successfully urged in favour of this substitution were that "Dogmatic Christianity is untenable in the face of the wonderful progress in the modern natural sciences," that "the Bible is beyond doubt of human origin," and that "the doctrine of the Supernatural which forms the basis of the entire teaching of the Church cannot be reconciled with the intellectual life of modern times." Dr. Selinger contrasts "Undogmatic Christianity," or as it is called by its American advocates "New-Theology," with

the teaching of the Catholic Church which repudiates all alliance with Agnosticism and is divinely indifferent whether its doctrines be or be not reconcileable with what Dr. Dryer calls "the intellectual life of modern times."

Dr. Selinger's treatise may be valuable as an exposition, but it contains little in the way of argument. Occasionally it fails even as an exposition. Thus, for example, Dr. Selinger seems to confound the natural with the supernatural end of man. Scotus, according to Cajetan, was guilty of this confusion. But Scotus, at least, did not allow that man's supernatural end was naturally known to him. Yet Dr. Selinger (p. 17) seems to assert that man naturally possesses this knowledge.

The Faith and Life of the Early Church. By W. F. SLATER, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. 8vo, pp. 412.

MR. SLATER endeavours to persuade us that the conception of the Church, as a visible hierarchical society, instituted by Christ as the great means of grace and salvation, had no existence before the days of Irenæus and Tertullian. The first Christians "had no officers except the 'twelve,' who had been specially called out by the Master as His witnesses. These exercised no lordship over their fellow-believers" (p. 58). The office of the Apostles was "to receive and distribute the contributions of the community. They possessed no "authority to impose dogmas on the understandings and consciences of men," nor did they possess "any royal jurisdiction over individuals and Churches" (p. 29). When the "responsibilities" of the Twelve as receivers and distributors of contributions became more than they could bear, seven men were chosen to assist them. "Irenæus was the first to say that the 'seven' were 'deacons'" (p. 40). A little later we find that certain others known as "elders" or presbyters were rendering similar assistance. "The presbyters would often find it needful to concentrate their authority in one representative" (p. 44). Such a representative was called a bishop. Unfortunately the bishops were not content to remain mere "administrators of church funds." They thrust themselves to the front, and, in so doing, they were, it appears, to some extent, acting in self-defence, for the presbyters were now making rapid strides towards authority. "Gradual, yet rapid development first separated the 'minister' or 'elder' from the ordinary level of church membership. It soon began to be imagined that what the priesthood had been in Judaism that the presbyterate ought to be in Christianity" (p. 44).

Tertullian and Irenæus, according to Mr. Slater, now came forward to advocate the claims of the bishops. But their most redoubtable champion was Cyprian. "Cyprian unfolded in all its proportions the analogy between the Levitical orders of the Old Testament and the ministerial orders of the New. He regarded the hierarchy and temple-service of the old covenant as prophetic symbols of the newer institutions. None but the bishop could answer to the high priest: all sacerdotal grace and authority must be derived from him" (p. 45) "Henceforth the Church became the sole dispenser of grace and out of it there was no salvation" (p. 408).

Just as the Fathers were relapsing into Judaism when recognising a Hierarchy, properly so called, of bishops, priests, and deacons, so were they, according to Mr. Slater, succumbing to Jewish prejudices, when they claimed unity as an essential characteristic of the Church. "The credit of the idea that there should be an absolute uniformity of doctrine and practice in the Church is unquestionably due to those who said, 'Except ye be circumcised ye cannot be saved'" (321). There was no such unity, it appears, even amongst the Apostles. "There is no direct evidence that Peter ever returned to the mixed Agape. It is fairly certain that James would never take part in it. Such was 'apostolic unity'" (p. 31, note). The investigators of the Tübingen school are much more trustworthy witnesses than the Fathers, and to them we must allow "the honour of having brought the realities of the primitive age out of the mists of tradition" (p. 189). They have shown the unsoundness of "the orthodox theory of a faultless unity of creed and liturgy and discipline throughout the apostolic age" (p. 190).

We are glad to be able to quote, before concluding, a passage from Mr. Slater's book with which we find ourselves to some extent in agreement. Mr. Slater, like all who are not High Churchmen, recognises the utter illogicality of the High Church position. "Of course," says Mr. Slater, "Mr. Gore and his party can furnish no effectual reply to the Roman Catholic claims, so 'constant and unmistakable.' If we are to follow the development which can be traced in Irenæus, Cyprian, and Augustine, why should we hesitate to accept that accomplished by Gregory, Leo, Pius the Fifth, and Pius the Ninth? . . . Once yield Mr. Gore's major proposition that 'salvation is by the visible Church,' and thousands more would perceive that the Anglican system was a doubtful dependence. It has only been 'visible' strictly speaking, since the sixteenth century. That it happened to be 'visible' in the first centuries in independence of Rome would present little obstacle. It was for a thousand years in 'visible' fellowship with Rome, and made that fellowship its 'glory'" (p. 403).

The New Apocrypha.

1. **The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter.** The Greek Text. MacMillan & Co.
2. **The Newly Recovered Gospel of St. Peter.** By J. RENDEL HARRIS. Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 98.
3. **Evangelii Secundum Petrum et Petri Apocalypseos quae supersunt, par A. Lods.** Paris: E. Leroux.
4. **Le Livre d'Hénoch.** Fragments Grecs, par A. Lods. Paris: Ernest Leroux. Large 8vo, pp. lxvi-198.

A GREAT deal has been said and written within the last few months, upon the subject of the Apocrypha recently discovered at Achmim in Upper Egypt, and their relation to the four canonical Gospels. The interest taken by English scholars in such matters is well illustrated by the fact that, within a very short time from the first publication of the documents in question by Mr. Bouriant, director of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo, an excellent text of the "Gospel of Peter" was published by MacMillan & Co., and learned lectures on the "Gospel" and "Apocalypse," by J. Armitage Robinson and Montague Rhodes James, scholars of distinction, appeared from the Cambridge Press. From the fact that, though the discovery at Achmim was made in the winter of 1886-87, the fragments were only given to the public last year, Mr. Rendel Harris seems to draw the conclusion that French scholars are no longer interested in Biblical and Patristic criticism. In this he is hardly justified by the facts. It must be remembered that the prime object of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo is the promotion of the study of Egyptian antiquities, and that biblical discoveries are not directly part of its work. The French, however, were not behindhand in studying and estimating the value of the documents, when once they came before the public, in proof of which we may point to M. Lods' scholarly publications on the subject.

Perhaps not much need be added to what we said in the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, regarding the "Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter." Mr. Rendel Harris deals very cursorily with the Apocalypse. It was known, he says, to the martyrs of Carthage, St. Perpetua and her companions, in the year 203 A.D., and is undoubtedly a work of the second century. M. Lods, whilst pointing out that it is still premature to attempt to fix accurately the date of its composition, lays down that it was clearly held in great esteem at the end of the second century after Christ. Regarding the "Gospel of Peter," Mr. Rendel Harris, in his interesting popular treatise on the subject, does not go beyond assigning it unhesitatingly to the

second century. M. Lods sees no objection to considering it as a production of the first half of that century.

It seems to be universally admitted that the "Gospel of Peter" is a Docetic work; indeed, Mr. Rendel Harris in one place speaks of "the daring Docetist who concocted the book." On the other hand M. Lods seems to consider that the Docetism of the writer has been exaggerated, and endeavours to explain away many of the passages that have been adduced to show the Docetic tendency of the work. Certainly, he maintains, the language of the author is not consistent. Thus, whilst declaring the impassibility of Christ, he dwells at length upon the torments to which he was subjected. Then, again, after our Lord had been taken up (*ἀνελήφθη*), and according to the strict Docetic doctrine only the animal flesh remained, the writer still speaks of *our Lord* as having the nails abstracted from his hands, &c. In a word, whilst admitting traces of Docetism in the Gospel, M. Lods considers that it is not the more refined form of Gnosticism commonly called Docetism, but a form of the teaching widely spread in the second century, and accommodated to the vulgar mind.

M. Lods has also published a volume upon the fragment of "The Book of Henoch," containing a long introduction, the newly-discovered Greek text, and a French translation. A large part of the introduction is taken up with a discussion of the Greek text, which is said to be allied more closely with the Ethiopian version than with the existing fragments of Georgius Syncellus. M. Lods thinks that the new Greek text, taken with the materials already at the disposal of students, makes it abundantly clear that the Ethiopian is a very loose translation of the original, and that it is "infiniment probable" that the "Book of Henoch" was originally composed in a Semitic language.

As to the origin and date of the "Book of Henoch," we extract the following passage from M. Lods, and so conclude our notice. (p. xxvi.) :

"Les débats engagés sur l'origine du livre d'Hénoch ont, en somme, conduit aux résultats suivants : le livre dans sa forme actuelle est l'œuvre d'au moins trois auteurs différents dont on peut approximativement fixer l'apport respectif ; sur l'époque où ces auteurs ont écrit, l'enquête est encore ouverte ; d'après la plupart des critiques, le gros du livre doit avoir été composé en hébreu par un Palestinien avant l'ère chrétienne ; mais il paraît de moins en moins probable que, avec les matériaux actuels, on parvienne à s'entendre pour fixer la date d'une façon plus précise."

J. A. HOWLETT.

The Byzantine Empire. (The Story of the Nations). By C. W. C. OMAN. 8vo, pp. xviii, 352. T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London. 1892.

MR. OMAN has made a valuable addition to the interesting and scholarly series which has for title "The Story of the Nations." He has compressed within the covers of a small volume some of the best results of Finlay's and Bury's studies in East-Roman History. In twenty-six chapters the author defends the successors of Justinian and Heraclius against the sweeping and indiscriminate condemnation of Gibbon and his parrot-like imitators. No one can rise from the perusal of this brightly written and beautifully illustrated volume without feeling amazed that the word "Byzantine" ever came to be used as a synonym for all that was corrupt and decadent. The tale of New Rome, far from being the depressing and monotonous chronicle which modern historians both English and French have been presenting us with, becomes under this writer's hand a record of brave deeds, consummate statesmanship, industrial prosperity, and brilliant successes in the field of arts and literature. If after the veteran of the war of Greek Independence, the young Dublin professor, and the Marquis of Bute, the Byzantines needed an apologist, that need is now supplied by the graceful and erudite author who has shown us in these pages the great work of the East-Roman Empire in holding back the Saracen, and in keeping alive the lamp of learning and culture. Mr. Oman has gone to the original chronicles. He has read the history of the Eastern realm in the very language of its home writers. The way that he has acquitted himself of his task is the best proof of his close and familiar acquaintance with Ammianus, Leo the Wise, Procopius, and other Byzantine authorities of the first order. That the book is not everything that a Catholic would wish goes without saying. We are not ready to accept the author's estimate of St. John Chrysostom in every particular, though we think the title "Fifth Century Beckett" is not an inappropriate one for the golden-mouthed patriarch of Constantinople. Mr. Oman's disquisitions on asceticism and devotion to the Saints suggest the very criticism to which he unsparingly treats Mr. Lecky. They sound "like a cheap echo" of second-hand No Popery writers, whose staple commodity is Littledale-and-water. Numerous illustrations, chiefly of St. Sophia, and a fair index complete this readable and instructive book.

G. H.

The Life of St. Monica. By M. l'Abbé BOUGAUD. Translated by Mrs. EDWARD HAZELAND. New Edition. 8vo, pp. 452. 4s. 6d. Art and Book Company, London and Leamington. 1892.

THIS book in its English dress has attained the honour of a second edition. It deserves them. The material has been ably worked and the translation is idiomatic and fluent. We consider this Life one that should prove deeply interesting to three classes of Catholic readers. Those who love to live over again the ages when the young Church was winning her first laurels in the conflict with idolatry, superstition, passion and ignorance, and rearing such heroes and heroines as Sebastian and Agnes, Cyprian and Cecilia, Ambrose, Jerome, and Eustochium, must heartily welcome a book which can take a place on their shelves beside Fabiola and Callista. Christian mothers cannot do better than follow the advice given by St. Francis of Sales to St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and read St. Monica's Life. In her untiring exertions to secure the conversion of her erring son they will note the strength, constancy, and ingenuousness of a mother's love. The irresistible power which the heart of a true mother has with God and with man come out nowhere more clearly than in the history of the valiant woman whose tears, prayers, penance, and holy living won back to the faith the loftiest intellect of his day and changed the slave of pleasure into the doctor of grace. The holy Bishop of Geneva understood how much mothers, who are anxious about their children's eternal welfare, stand in need of encouraging models if they are to persevere in prayer and patience. St. Monica is one of these encouraging models, for her Life is replete with helpful and consoling lessons. The third and last class of readers who should be specially attracted to this well-written analysis of a saint's growth in holiness is made of the countless orders and congregations that have adopted the rule of St. Augustine. If the twinship of soul existing between St. Benedict and his sister St. Scholastica, may be traced in the gentle and considerate provisions of the Great Rule of Western Monasticism, it ought not to be impossible to find St. Monica's share in the sweet tenderness and large-souled love which runs through St. Austin's Holy Rule. A careful study of Abbé Bougaud's book will help the religious sons and daughters of the great African Bishop to catch the harmonies and spiritual affinities which float downwards through their rule, from two hearts knit together in a closer relationship than any mere tie of blood known on earth. We particularly recommend chapters ii., x., xiii., xv. The distinction between the Austin Friars and the Austin Canons might have been brought out more clearly, at least in a note by the translator. The author wrote at a time when Frenchmen were

unconscious that any distinction existed. We should also like to see some remarks on Old English devotion to St. Monica, especially among the English canonesses in the sixteenth century, added to the chapter on the Cultus of St. Monica. The Abbotsleigh, South Mimms, and Hayward's Heath communities, we have no doubt, possess precious memorials of such devotion.

G. H.

The Great Educators : Loyola. By the Rev. THOMAS HUGHES, S.J. 8vo, pp. 295. 5s. London : William Heinemann. 1892.

THE educational system of the Society of Jesus is the subject of this learned and lucidly written volume. It is a book that was needed. The place of St. Ignatius among the great educators of the human family is fully recognised even outside the Church which produced him; but many will be glad to have a compact critical statement of the principles and method adopted by his spiritual children. Deviating from the course pursued by the compilers of the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the projectors of this interesting series have not given a professed enemy the congenial task of underrating the recluse of Manresa and his works. On the contrary, they have had the good sense to invite a member of Loyola's Order to explain the sources, process of development, and present influence of the system within and without the Society. Fr. Hughes has, we think, risen to the opportunity afforded him. While perfectly dispassionate, his book is a magnificent tribute to the pedagogical methods in use among his religious brethren. The first part contains a biographical and historical sketch, having for its chief subject the person of the Founder, viewed especially as the originator of the Jesuit teaching system. The details and the pedagogical significance of the various elements in the method appear in the second part as a critical analysis of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The author, without making his work heavy, dry, or bulky, has embodied, or quoted in it, various rare documents which will assist the reader in coming to a clear and comprehensive judgment on the subject. Besides the original documents, custom, ancient and modern, has been laid under contribution, with the result that we have before us the chief traits which are characteristic of the system, and which may be suggestive in the development of pedagogical science. If Fr. Hughes has not written a book as fascinating as Miss Drane's "Christian Schools and Scholars," which he quotes in the opening lines of his first chapter, he has done a service to all engaged in the work of edu-

cation by clearly describing the inner workings of a most successful educational organisation. People inclined to lift up their hands admiringly over free education as a modern panacea, devised by an enlightened State, will read with surprise that gratuitous education was given all over Europe by the Jesuits as early as the sixteenth century. Perhaps the discovery may lead some of Fr. Hughes' readers to go still further back and see what the ancient orders and pre-reformation Churchmen did in the same direction. School Board officials may learn much from this book. The too apparent insufficiency of mere intellectual training to prevent crime was grasped by the disciples of Loyola more than three hundred years ago. Hence their special care to cultivate the heart no less than the head, to instil ethical principles based on solid and manly religion at the same time that they formed the mind on the most beautiful literary and artistic models. We hope this series of "Great Educators" will include a volume entitled "Benedict."

G. H.

Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects. By Rev. J. CASEY, P.P. 8vo, pp. viii-188. Dublin: James Duffy. 1892.

FATHER CASEY'S facile verse gives fresh emphasis to many thoughts too familiar in prose to appeal forcibly to our minds. This, the third volume he has published, contains a large selection of devotional poems, divided into several categories, such as hymns of thanksgiving, a series of verses for a Novena to the Sacred Heart, and many miscellaneous poems headed by a text of Scripture, and developing the thought contained in it. Among these, "Lazarus come forth," and "There was no room in Bethlehem," may be taken as illustrative of the author's method of expressing in simple and fluent rhyme the feelings suggested by the striking words of the Gospel narrative. Father Casey is well known for his temperance lyrics, some of which are reprinted in the present volume, and among them that written for the Father Mathew Centenary celebration in October 1890, to the Irish air of "Wreathe the Bowl," is especially worthy of commendation as a good stirring song likely to be most efficacious for its purpose of carrying the war into the enemy's country by annexing the lively tunes hitherto associated with the glorification of jovial vice.

Poems. By ALICE MEYNELL. 8vo, pp. 72. London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane. 1893.

MRS. MEYNELL'S high reputation as a poet has hitherto rested almost exclusively, as far as public acquaintance with her works was concerned, on one perfect sonnet reproduced in various selections of extracts. Her earlier volume entitled "Preludes," having been some time out of print, she was thus in the singular position of a recognised and highly esteemed contemporary poet, whose works were almost unknown. The publication of the present dainty little volume raises her at once to the first rank among those singers of our day whose utterances have been of the fragmentary sort, expressing with more or less intensity, single and mostly fugitive moods of mind. Her strain, that of the *Æolian* harp in its subtle cadence, is like it too in being charged with that undertone of wailing plaintiveness to which all the voices of nature are tuned, and whose very vagueness has a strange charm for human ears. The subjoined fine sonnet, entitled "The Love of Narcissus," illustrates this prevailing tendency :

Like him who met his own eyes in the river,
The poet trembles at his own long gaze
That meets him through the changing nights and days
From out great Nature; all her waters quiver
With his own image facing him for ever;
The music that he listens to betrays
His own heart to his ears; by trackless ways
His wild thoughts tend to him in long endeavour.
His dreams are far among the silent hills;
His vague voice calls him from the darkened plain
With winds at night; strange recollection thrills
His lonely heart with piercing love and pain;
He knows his sweet mirth in the mountain rills,
His weary tears that touch him with the rain.

The Rhythm of Life, and other Essays. By ALICE MEYNELL. 8vo, pp. 106. London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane. 1893.

MRS. MEYNELL is singular, and in our own day almost unique, in having at equal command the two great forms of literary expression. The early part of this century, indeed, furnished a two-fold instance of this gift of speech in two voices, for the "Author of Waverley" doubled the fame of the Minstrel of the Border, and the Lombard musician whose name is chiefly linked in this country with his one immortal prose work "I Promessi Sposi," ranks with his own countrymen at least equally high as the singer of the "Cinque Maggio." But many of those who were familiar with the name of Alice Meynell as that of the author of the "Preludes," will be surprised

to find that she is endowed as an essayist with even rarer gifts than those displayed in her verse. For hers is the art above all arts of briefness without haste, and of fulness without distention. Each sentence would be but the text of another's entire essay, and each essay might be expanded to a volume. An exquisite fastidiousness of taste enables her to express in some subtly suggestive syllable an evanescent thought that others would laboriously strive after through plodding sentences, and renders every sentence a highly polished gem sparkling with light from multitudinous facets. The title of the volume is derived from the opening paper, dealing with the recurrence and intermittency of all phases of life and sensation, which have their ebb and flow as prescribed by the universal "law of periodicity." But Mrs. Meynell's ideas are imprisoned in a web of language of such gossamer fineness, that they escape through the grosser mesh of ordinary style, and cannot be summarised or translated into the vulgar tongue. Among the phrase-jewels strewn through her pages some have the crispness and concentration of proverbs, such as "multiplicity is exactly the disgrace of decoration"; "foolish ornament gains a cumulative force and achieves a conspicuous commonness"; and "the property of power is to use phrases, whether strange or familiar, as though it had created them."

Méditations sur la Vie de N. S. J. C. Par le R. P. M. MESCHLER, S.J. Traduites de l'Allemand par l'Abbé PH. MAZOYER. Tome 1er. 8vo, pp. 609. Paris : P. Lethielleux ; London : Burns & Oates.

THE Meditations offered to the reader in this volume are minute and elaborate studies on the Life of our Lord. There are no effective arts—the writer having said in his Preface all that he has to say on effective prayer. The matter is very abundant and is well set out, all the circumstances being made the most of. An Introduction treats of the Holy Land as the theatre of our Lord's Life, and of the political, religious, and moral condition of the Jewish people at the period of His manifestation. The volume, which does not include the Passion, will be found extremely useful by preachers as well as by those who take it up for the purposes of meditation. It has the approval of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris and of the General of the Society of Jesus.

Miscellaneous Essays. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. 8vo, pp. 429. 7s. 6d. London: Percival & Co.

MR. SAINTSBURY has been called a "critic of all works." He probably has no objection to the name, for he appears to hold that the critic, like the judge in one of our Courts of Justice, ought to be ready to deal with whatever is brought before his tribunal. His range is a wide one, but he claims, not without reason, that however diverse the subject there is a unity of method in all his work. What this method is he sets forth in a few interesting sentences, which are the core of his preface:—

It is possible to disagree with M. Brunetière in his confession and apology, as the author of books made of articles, that "articles will never make a book." A book, as it seems to me, consists not so much in ostensibly homogeneous subject, or in the fact that the author has excogitated its plan at a single stroke, as in the unity of method, of treatment, of attitude, and of view. I hope that there is such unity here, and if there is, it may perhaps be due to the obversation of three rules which I have always tried to keep before my eyes, whether in writing the history of a literature or in criticising a platform speech for next day's paper. These rules are: Never to like anything old merely because it is old, or anything new merely because it is new; never to judge anything in literature or politics except from the historical and comparative standpoint; and always to put the exposition of the subject before the display of personal cleverness.

Sound rules these, and too often forgotten by the would-be smart and epigrammatic school of reviewers. It may be added that Mr. Saintsbury further distinguishes his work by the attention he pays to the criticism of form and style, and this lends a special interest to the essay on English Prose Style, with which the present volume opens. Many of the essays that follow deal with French subjects. Some of the extracts in that on Saint Evremond might have been omitted with advantage to the volume, notably one which includes a number of Jansenist calumnies against the Church. At the risk of being classed with *les imbéciles* one wishes that Mr. Saintsbury had less to say in favour of Baudelaire. In his essay on Renan he brings out very clearly the utterly unscientific methods of the author of the "Vie de Jésus."

De Canonica Diocesium Visitatione. Auctore PAULO CARDINALI MELCHERS. 8vo, pp. 180. Coloniæ ad Rhenum: J. P. Bachem.

CARDINAL MELCHERS was born at Münster, Westphalia, in 1813. From 1858 to 1866 he was Bishop of Osnabrück. From 1868 to 1885 he was Archbishop of Cologne. He resigned this

high ecclesiastical post into the hands of Leo XIII., and in the consistory of July 1885 was elevated to the Sacred College. Released from the onerous duties of the government of the See of Cologne, Cardinal Melchers was happily inspired to collect his memoirs, and to publish them for the benefit of his brethren in the episcopate. This task he has just accomplished in a work of small compass but of solid value. The octogenarian author has left nothing undone to render his production as perfect as possible, and to bring it up to the level of modern requirements. The Italian and German authorities which have been consulted have been fully requisitioned and supplemented by additional material. While scrupulously following the usual regulations prescribed by the Canon Law for the visitation of churches and other ecclesiastical institutions, the Cardinal is fully alive to the need of meeting the actual wants of the Church. This is exemplified both in the excellent rules which he lays down for the visitation of schools, whether of the higher or lower grade, and also in his notes upon the authority of bishops in the visitation of the monasteries and religious houses of his diocese. These rules are not sketched in naked outline, but are copiously illustrated by clear and concise observations drawn from the history of Canon Law. Although Cardinal Melchers' work has in view the actual condition of the Church in Germany, there can be no doubt that it will have a helpful and instructive value to the bishops of other countries. We may go further, and say that its usefulness will be appreciated not only by the *Visitores* but by the *Visitandi*.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Officium Parvum B. Mariæ Virginis necnon Officium Defunctionum, in Græcam linguam translata a Monachis Benedictinis S. Dominici de Silos. Paris et Lyon: Delhomme et Briguet. 1892.

SINCE the revival of Greek letters in the West three centuries ago, many attempts have been made to render the prayers of the Latin Church, and especially the Little Office of our Lady, into that language. The last of these translations is now presented to us by the Benedictine Fathers of St. Domingo of Silos in Spain; and it may fairly be recommended as superior to its predecessors. The Psalms are taken from the liturgical edition of the Psalter published in Rome, the lessons and other passages of Scripture from the authorised edition of the Septuagint. The rest has been carefully corrected; and, in the cases of the "Sub tuum" and a few other antiphons, common to the Eastern and Western Churches, the

Greek liturgical form has been inserted. Of course the most difficult part of such a task is the translation of the hymns, especially the trochaic metre of the "Ave maris stella," and the Fathers' version of these may be pronounced satisfactory. The typographical part of the little book is well done, the Greek type is excellent, and there are few printers' errors even in the accentuation.

It is to be feared that we have fallen upon times when Greek will be less and less studied; but if it lingers anywhere this manual may be confidently recommended for the use of boys who have made some progress in the language. They would not only easily acquire familiarity with an extensive Greek vocabulary, but also realise more fully the sense of the sacred words, which is so apt to be passed over when a language is employed which has long been known.

Un Agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire : le Comte D'Antraigues. Par LÉONCE PINGAUD. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

WHILE engaged in the composition of his excellent work on the correspondence between the Count of Artois and De Vaudreuil, M. Léonce Pingaud became interested in a certain mysterious character named D'Antraigues who was frequently mentioned in their letters. This man was of good family, and had been for a short time a member of the National Assembly. His uncompromising opposition to the popular party had brought upon him frequent threats of vengeance, especially as he had previously written strongly in favour of their demands, and consequently he had quitted France early in the year 1790. During the emigration there was a great demand for the services of secret agents—half diplomats, half spies—who could be acknowledged or repudiated as circumstances required. Among this ignoble band Count D'Antraigues was far and away the most famous. For more than twenty years he bribed couriers, pilfered dispatches, tempted secretaries to divulge their masters' correspondence, and betrayed the confidences of his friends. Besides receiving large sums from the Royalist party in France, he was also in the pay of Spain, Sicily, Russia, Austria, and England, and while taking the money of each of these he never hesitated to reveal their secrets to the others. Once he fell into Bonaparte's clutches, and only extricated himself by consenting to falsify a document in such a way as to exonerate his captor and to implicate Pichegru in a Royalist conspiracy. Ever afterwards there was a deadly hatred between the secret agent and

the great conqueror, and if D'Antraigues could be said to work for any other motive than his own interest that motive would be a hatred of Bonaparte. As the influence of the new empire gradually extended itself over the Continent he was compelled to take refuge in England. The Peace of Tilsitt (1807) deprived his services of any value to his paymasters, except to the English, and these were loth to employ so base and untrustworthy an agent. Hence his last years were spent in comparative neglect. Just when, in consequence of the war between France and Russia, he was about to be restored to the favour of his greatest patron, the Czar, he was murdered by a man whom he had lately dismissed from his service. The assassin had been in the French army in Spain, and was said to be a spy in Napoleon's pay.

This brief sketch of D'Antraigues' career is enough to show how interesting is M. Pingaud's book. The story itself is full of sensational incidents, and in such capable hands it loses nothing in the telling. Three portraits—two of D'Antraigues himself, and one of his wife, a famous opera singer in the days of the old *régime*—add much to the value of the volume.

T. B. S.

L'Ancien Clergé de France. I. Les Evêques avant la Révolution. Par l'Abbé SICARD. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1893.

THE present position of the Church in France is a melancholy spectacle to all who are interested in her welfare. The nominal religion of almost the entire nation, her ministrations are despised and rejected by the vast majority of the male population, and her action is hampered at every turn by vexatious persecution. To account for this state of things we must, as in every other branch of moral inquiry, go back to the study of the past. The evil that men do lives after them; and so it may prove that the failure of the clergy at the present day is to be attributed, not to any want of zeal on their part, but to the conduct of their predecessors, and to regulations which have long been abolished. Fully recognising this principle, the Abbé Sicard proposes to do for the French Church what M. Taine has done for French institutions generally. His volumes will form a study of "Les Origines de l'Eglise Française Contemporaine." As a rule he confines himself to a clear and interesting statement of facts. So far he deserves nothing but praise. Now and then, however, he takes up the defence or extenuation of some of the abuses; but one suspects that his pleading is rather half-hearted. A little honest indignation at the more glaring

scandals would have been in place. Perhaps M. Sicard is of opinion that the mere perusal of his book will ensure many such an outburst on the part of his readers.

M. Sicard rightly begins by putting his finger on the fruitful source of most of the miseries of the French Church. At the time of the opening of the States General (1789), every one of the hundred and thirty bishops was of noble birth. The profane scoffs of the infidel philosophers excite our disgust; but surely they had some ground for scorn when they saw before them an institution professing to have been founded by a Carpenter and a few poor fishermen and yet admitting none but nobles to its most sacred offices. Men so chosen were no doubt admirably fitted to make their bow at Court, to preside at local assemblies, to shine in all the agreeable arts of the *salon*; but they could hardly be "a pattern of the flock from the heart." It is no wonder that in the rude conflict which ensued in the eighteenth century, they went down before the gibes of Voltaire, the sentimentalism of Rousseau, and the learning of D'Alembert and the Encyclopedists. This much being said, we can readily allow that many of the old courtly prelates were men of exemplary piety and were enlightened rulers; we can allow, too, that in some cases, considering the lofty secular station occupied by the bishops of certain dioceses, it was advisable to appoint members of the great families. Nevertheless, "La carrière ouverte aux talents," was the secret of the success of the Revolution; the opposite principle was the ruin of the Church.

How these aristocratic bishops were appointed, their relations with the Court, with their families, with their clergy and their people, their high sounding titles, their wealth, their power—all these matters are treated by M. Sicard in a way that is most creditable to his industry and his powers of exposition. In less capable hands his book would have been a mere catalogue; as composed by him it has all the charm of an interesting story, and makes us eagerly look forward to the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

T. B. S.

Christopher Columbus: His Life, Labours, and Discoveries.

By MARIANA MONTEIRO. Author of "Basque Legends," "History of Portugal," &c. &c. Pp. xii.-176. London: John Hodges, Agar Street, Charing Cross. 1893.

Cristoforo Colombo e la scoperta dell' America. Presentati al Popolo Italiano. Per Fr. MARCELLINO DA VEZZANO, M.O. Con Prefazione Storico-critica, dei P.P. M. DA CIVEZZA E T. DOMENI-

CHELLI. Pp. xxiv.-160. Società Di San Giovanni Desclée: Lefebvre e Cia. Roma: Via della Minerva, 47-48. Tournai: Avenue de Maire. Parigi: Rue Saint-Sulpice. Lille: Rue du Metz.

SINCE shortly before the 12th of October last—the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America by Columbus—many accounts of the life and adventures of this wonderful man have appeared, written from every possible point of view. Of the two books at the head of this paragraph the first may be described as purely biographical, no attempt being made to trace the development of the discovery. It records the chief events in the life of the great discoverer, as we have been accustomed to understand them, and without reference to modern criticism—*e.g.*, it states that Columbus was educated at Pavia; Fr. Knight says Padua, and Markham maintains that he was not educated at either university, but at the weaver's school at Genoa. Again, in the matter of the marriage of Columbus, the authoress follows the older accounts, whereas some modern writers maintain that the first wife of Columbus was not Donna Perestrello, daughter of the Governor of Porto Santo, but another lady of the name of Moniz. And so on with several other points of divergence. We merely draw attention to these matters for the benefit of those who may wish to know more about Columbus than what is herein contained. Otherwise the account is pleasantly descriptive and the book beautifully got up, and is altogether a very suitable prize for convent and collegiate schools.

The second life, which is not English, but emanates from the country of Colon or Columbus, differs from the first in that it is illustrated, the main events being pictorially represented from “Columbus a Beggar at the Convent Gate,” through the “Glorious Reception by the Sovereigns,” after the great discovery, to his “Dying in Poverty at Valladolid.”

J. J. C.

Reviews in Brief.

Poésie Liturgique du Moyen Âge. 1. **Rythme.** 2. **Histoire.** Par U. CHEVALIER, Chanoine Honoraire de Lyon. Lyon : Vitte, 1892.—The two pamphlets before us are reprints of articles that have appeared in the *Université Catholique* of Lyons. The former is devoted to showing that ecclesiastical poetry is not a mere corruption of the metric systems of classical verse, but a reversion to the native form of Latin poetry. This rhythmical poetry, which was congenial to the character of the Latin language, was thrown into the shade during the Augustan age under the influence of Greek models, but survived in popular use, and became the parent of mediæval verse just as the “*lingua vulgaris*” was the source of the modern languages of Southern Europe. This is the view now generally held by students of the subject, and is defended by Canon Chevalier with much learning and ability. The second is a bibliography of hymns, sequences and other liturgical poetry, assigning as far as possible the date and authorship of each. It will be indispensable to any one who is pursuing the same line of study.

Analysis of the Gospels of the Sundays of the Year. Translated from the Italian of Angelo Cagnola, by Rev. L. A. LAMBERT, LL.D. (New York: Benziger Bros.)—A little work bearing the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. It is remarkable for brevity and conciseness, and gives, in the form of question and answer, the chief lessons to be derived from each gospel. It would be a useful addition to the library of missionary priests whose various labours make it impossible for them to consult the more solid and exhaustive works—while on the other hand they are anxious to embody the principal gospel truths in short Sunday discourses to their flocks.

The Holy Mass Explained. By the Rev. F. X. SCHOUPE, S.J. Translated by the Rev. P. O'HARE. (New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.)—A good explanation of the rite of the Holy Sacrifice, accurate, and not too long, is what priests and their flock constantly inquire after. The name of Father Schoupe, one of the most precise dogmatic writers of the day, is a sufficient guarantee that the little work here noticed will be found most useful. We have a sufficiently full explanation of the ceremonies, the altar with

its furniture, the priest's vestments, and the sacred function itself. The translator has done his part fairly, but he has been unfortunate in his artist, who has managed several times to place both the priest and the missal at the wrong end of the altar.

Le Droit Social De L'Eglise. Par P.Ch. M. (Paris: L. Larose et Forcel.)—Pope Leo XIII. has had no little trouble in his ecclesiastical policy through the difficulties placed in his way by over zealous partisans. From enemies we are ready for anything, but from sons of the Church all seems to go wrong unless there is that submission of mind so worthy of a Catholic. The anonymous author of the book before us has boldly quoted from the Holy Father's many public utterances, and fancying himself called to be a stout defender of the Faith, launches forth a principle which would practically destroy all effective temporal power and submerge its very existence in the substitution of an ecclesiastical policy never yet claimed, but ever repudiated by the Church. It is a book of a good man, but of one whose goodness has lost its influence by his vexatious and impossible theories. His energy is unbounded, but the direction it has taken has been as unfortunate as we could have wished it to have been useful.

Poems in Petroleum. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. 8vo. pp. 168. (London: E. W. Allen. 1892. 2s.)—The poems in this somewhat curiously entitled volume show considerable power of rhythmical expression, and record the impressions of one who has visited many lands with a mind keenly sensitive to the varying phases of nature in all. But while many of the lyrics are written in a reverent spirit of praise, there are some passages we should wish to see expunged before recommending it for the general reader. Nor is a volume of this kind, necessarily liable to fall into the hands of the community, the fitting place for arguing those vexed questions of social reform, which require the utmost discretion in their handling, however excellent may be the intention of those who thus raise them. We regret these blemishes all the more, because there is in other respects much to admire and praise in the work.

A Course of Lenten Sermons. By the Rev. P. SABELA. Second edition. 8vo. pp. 107. (London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.)—A re-issue of Father Sabela's Sermons for Lent; their subject is the Passion of Our Lord.

The Servite Manual. A Collection of Devotions chiefly in honour of Our Lady of Dolours. Compiled by the SERVITE FATHERS. Small

8vo. pp. 438. (London : Burns & Oates ; New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers.)—The Servite Fathers have issued a compact and handsome prayer-book, containing, besides the usual devotions suitable to the laity, all the special Servite practices in honour of the Seven Dolours of Our Lady. It must be presumed that the addition to the Litany of Loreto, “Regina Servorum tuorum,” is authorised ; but perhaps it would have been as well to explain that it is only for Churches of the Order. And what is meant by “*a relic of the Seven Holy Founders*”? The Manual has the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop.

Manifestation of Conscience. Translated from the French of the Rev. PIE DE LANGOGNE, O. M. Cap. 12mo, pp. 171. (New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—A Capuchin Father has written (apparently in the Belgian periodical the *Canoniste Contemporain*) a commentary on the Decree “Quemadmodum” of Dec. 17, 1890, which restricts the power of superiors in religious houses to require a “manifestation” of heart from their communities. The Archbishop of New York gives the translator his *imprimatur*. There is much in the book which will be useful both to Prelates and to the heads of convents.

The Church, or the Society of Divine Praise. A Manual for the use of the Oblates of St. Benedict. From the French of Dom PROSPER GUÉRANGER. (Edited, with Introduction, by a Secular Priest. 8vo, pp. xvii-58. London : Burns & Oates ; New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.)—The principal part of this “Manual” is a translation of an exhortation of Dom Guéranger, dictated during his last illness, and addressed to priests who have become affiliated to the Benedictine Order. It is marked by the devotional and liturgical spirit of the eminent restorer of the Liturgy. The translation is well done ; but no one is more difficult to translate perfectly than Dom Guéranger.

Select Revelations of St. Bridget, Princess of Sweden. New Edition. 8vo, pp. 212. (London and Leamington : Art and Book Co. ; New York : Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—This is a reprint—it does not seem to be a new edition—of a little book published seventeen years ago under the auspices of Cardinal (then Archbishop) Manning. The translation is good, and there is a Life of the Saint, together with an Introduction.

The Sting of Death: its Antidote. By the Rev. ALBAN STOLZ. (Translated from the seventeenth German edition. 8vo, pp. 88. London : St. Anselm’s Society. 1892.)—The anonymous

translator of a most popular German book has given an admirable version—almost as good as the original. These pages are somewhat florid, but form a most eloquent and telling treatise on the preparation for Death. Their picturesqueness and directness, and the abundance of illustration make them most suitable for the use of the laity: but we are much mistaken if priests also will not find them extremely stimulating and suggestive. The *imprimatur* of the Ordinary of Westminster vouches for the soundness of the doctrine.

Philotheus and Eugenia. Dialogues between two Anglicans on Anglican difficulties. By Mr. SERJEANT BELLASIS. (Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 88. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1892.)—Many of our readers may already know this book. As an instrument for meeting and removing the prejudices of the average Anglican, there are few (perhaps none) that are better suited to their purpose. The subjects treated are the Incarnation, the honour paid to our Lady, the Saints, Miracles, Church and Bible, Purgatory, Latin prayers, the Jesuits, &c. An interesting feature of the dialogues is the thorough comprehension of the distinctively Anglican notions on such subjects as the Incarnation, Social or "common" Prayer, reading the Bible, and looking up to the Church of England as "Our Mother!" A note to the present edition gives some details as to the history of the "Dialogues," and informs us that the two last are now published for the first time. Serjeant Bellasis (who was converted in 1850) had to explain his conversion to his wife, and therefore had to study precision in his exposition of Catholic doctrine—with a success which these dialogues fully prove.

Spiritual Letters of Father Surin, S.J. Translated by Sister M. CHRISTOPHER, O.S.F. With a Preface by Father F. GOLDIE, S.J. (Edited by the Rev. H. COLLINS. 8vo, pp. 393. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—There are one or two Letters in this collection, written by Père Surin in the earlier part of his life, which are nothing less than treatises, in their way unsurpassed. Such is the very first Letter of all, in which he relates his conversation with a young man of eighteen whom he met in a diligence going out of Rouen. Such also is the second Letter, in which a devout Christian finds a complete rule of life. In the twelfth Letter there are three or four on "Study," such as one rarely finds in spiritual books. Other Letters are just as profound, practical and useful, and the book is a valuable addition to the library of spiritual reading. The "life" which Father Goldie has contributed, merely touches on that marvellous and obscure episode in Père Surin's career, his connection with the

Possessed Nuns of Loudun. The translation is good, but some of the proper names, as well in the body of the book as in the preface should have had a little more attention.

Devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament. Translated from the Italian of JOHN BAPTIST PAGANI, author of the *Anima Devota*. (A new and revised edition. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 1892.)—There are few more acceptable books of devotion than this manual of thirty-one Visits to the Blessed Sacrament. A new and revised edition is here placed within the reach of all.

La Bataille du Home Rule. Parnell. Sa Vie, sa Fin. Par L. NEMOURS GODRÉ. 8vo. pp. 183. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1892. 2s.)—If French writers may often be justly reproached with ignorance of English institutions, they are open to no such accusation when they treat of Ireland. Partly owing to racial affinities and partly owing to hostility to England, they have always understood the Irish character and Irish aspirations far better than most Englishmen do. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that M. Godré's short sketch of the late Mr. Parnell does justice to the Irish chieftain's meteoric career. Readers of Mr. T. P. O'Connor's "Life of Parnell" will find nothing new here, but they may be interested to see the familiar materials served up with a terseness and a charm which even the brilliant Irish journalist cannot rival.

T. B. S.

The Holy Hill. A Toiler's Song. By JOHN G. GRETTON, S.J. 8vo, pp. 52. (Manresa Press, Roehampton. 1892.)—These beautiful devotional lyrics are addressed to some of the higher moods of piety, of which they fitly mirror the vague and wistful imaginings. Language, metre, and imagery, are alike attuned to a solemn and majestic music suited to the loftiness of the subject, while the passage from Jeremias that preludes the first part, and the versicles of the XLII. Psalm that usher in the second, seem to set the key to the grave harmonies that follow. The subjoined lines may serve as a specimen of the general flow of the verse :

Still air move onward heavy with the thunder ;
 On land the night prepares thee welcome room.
 Though freedom woos thee to the sea,
 Where myriad wave-crests bow to thee.
 And lightnings laugh from gloom to gloom,
 Thy joy is here to cleave the cedar's heart asunder.

A beautiful print of the Crucifixion forms an appropriate frontispiece to this interesting volume.

St. Patrick's Hymn Book. By Rev. E. GAYNOR, C.M. 8vo, pp. 99, 4s. net. (Browne & Nolan. 1892.)—A new hymn book is always welcome, and especially so when upward of forty new tunes have been added to it. The spirit, too, which guides it can be gathered from the author's preface in which he says that it "is an attempt, however feeble, to encourage more rational views and practices in hymn singing." The harmonies are rigidly simple, and could easily have been made sweeter if more difficult for reading purposes. If we might be critical the rendering of the "Daily Daily" in the tenth bar is crude, if correct. The author, however, has quite scored a success in his musical production, and, added to a separate book of the words, he has also published a tonic Sol-fa vocal score. We wish the work every success.

Books Received.

Saint Paul. Ses missions Par M. l'Abbé Fouard. 8vo, pp. 544.
Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 7fr. 50c.

S. Thomæ Aquinatis. O.P. doctrina de co-operatione Dei cum omni natura creata præsentim libera. Responsio ad R. P. F. Dummermuth. Scripsit Victor Frins, S.J. 8vo, pp. 498.
Paris: P. Lethielleux et Cie. London: Burns & Oates.

The Bread of Life; or St. Thomas on the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar, arranged as Meditations. By Very Rev. H. A. Rawes, D.D. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. 303. London: Burns & Oates.

Etudes de Théologie Positive sur la Sainte Trinité. Deuxième Série. Théories Scolastiques. Par R. P. Th. de Regnon, S.J. Large 8vo, pp. 584. Paris: Victor Retaux et Fils.

Cursus Scripturæ Sacrae, Auctoribus R. Cornely, I. Knabenbauer, Fr. de Hummelauer aliisque Soc. Jesu presbyteris. Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthæum. Auctore J. Knabenbauer. Pars prior et Pars altera. 8vo, pp. 552-583.

Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi latiné secundum editionem Sti. Hieronymi ad codicum M.S.S. fidem recensuit Johannes Wordsworth, episcopus Sarisburiensis, in operis societatem assumpto Henrico Juliano White. Partis prioris fasciculus III. Evangel. secundum Lucam. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. 269-484. 12s. 6d.

Méditations sur la Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ. Par R. P. Meschler, traduites de l'allemand par M. l'Abbé Mazoyer. Tome 1er. 8vo, pp. 609. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

Sermons for all Sundays and Festivals of the Year. By Rev. J. N. Sweeney, D.D., O.S.B. 8vo, pp. viii-614. 4th edition. London: Burns & Oates.

Philotheus and Eugenia. By Sergeant Bellasis. 8vo, pp. 86. London: St. Anselm's Society.

Un Pape Belge. Histoire du Pape Etienne X. Par Ulysse Robert. 8vo, pp. 118. Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie. 1fr. 50c.

The Following of Christ. In 4 books. New translation. 8vo, pp. 368. London: Burns & Oates.

Life of St. Charles Borromeo. By Edward Healy Thompson, M.A. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. xv-249. London: Burns & Oates.

The Life of St. Dominic: with a sketch of the Dominican Order. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. 371. London: Burns & Oates.

Catholic England in Modern Times. By Rev. F. Morris, S.J. 8vo, pp. 104. London: Burns & Oates.

The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170. By W. M. Ramsay, M.A. 8vo, pp. xiv-494. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Foregleams of Christianity. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By Chas. Newton Scott. 8vo, pp. 222. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

A Manual of the Law specially affecting Catholics. By W. S. Lilly, LL.M., and John E. P. Wallis, M.A. 8vo, pp. vxi-266 London: W. Clowes & Son.

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